

**AN ANALYSIS OF CAPE TOWN MUNICIPALITY'S APPROACH TO
URBAN REGENERATION IN THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AND
OTHER BUSINESS NODES**

by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment/thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

SUMMARY

According to certain writers urban regeneration as an idea encapsulates both the perception of city decline (in local economies, in the use of land and buildings, in the equality of the environment and social life) and the hope of renewal, reversing trends in order to find a new basis for economic growth and social wellbeing. Rebuilding the city, clearing away obsolete buildings and vacant sites, and producing new building forms and designs symbolised the renewal in action. But urban regeneration also has different components or evolution criteria like, the major strategy (the focus of the renewal project), an economic focus, a social content, a physical emphasis or an environmental approach. The economic change that occurred in cities throughout the world in the past decade, has been paralleled not only by the physical reshaping of the city, but it has been accompanied by institutional restructuring (the rise of new firms, new working practices and relationships designed to exploit new market opportunities).

The physical, economic, social and cultural projects launched through the process of urban regeneration, reconstruct the economic, socio-cultural, political-institutional and physical-environmental fabric of cities. It battles urban decay and redevelop the city to such an extent that it brings back the original appeal of the city, which lured people to the central city for decades. But not all urban renewal projects are aimed at the inner city; some are launched in a much wider context and would focus on blighted or previously disadvantaged and marginalised areas. Renewal projects in Cape Town and elsewhere in South Africa in cities like Durban and Johannesburg are still ongoing and form an important part of rebuilding cities of modern South Africa. It is however important to remember that not all urban renewal projects proved to be a success, some do fail. In the Cape Town Metropole and the Central City local government has neglected many areas for much too long. Recent efforts to restore the beauty of Cape Town and really address the urban challenges that arose from the Apartheid legacy shows a commitment from the Cape Town Municipality to create a much more liveable and economically viable urban environment.

This study investigated the City of Cape Town Municipality's approach towards urban regeneration in the Central Business District and other specific business nodes. A literature review gave an intellectual background to the study and helped to build a logical framework. Secondary analysis helped define the goal of the study and qualitative field research assisted the investigation through direct observation and semi-structured interviewing. The study did not aim to prove that every

urban renewal project that was launched was aimed at eradicating the problems associated with the Apartheid City. An important factor to take in account is that different business areas (The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront) and nodes (The Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor), the focus of this study, make use of different redevelopment strategies. This study focused on how and why some work and must be built upon, and delivered critique on why some failed and should convert to a more successful renewal approach. The study concluded that the City of Cape Town's approach towards urban regeneration do compare positively with redevelopment strategies followed in other parts of the world such as America and Britain. The study tried to show the direction urban regeneration could take for the future, based on an evaluation of urban regeneration evolution criteria namely:

- The major strategy and orientation and key actors and stakeholders.
- The economic focus.
- The social content.
- The physical emphasis.

OPSOMMING

Stedelike vernuwing omvat beide die konsep stedelike verval (met betrekking tot plaaslike ekonomieë, die fisiese gebruik van grond en gebou en wat betref die kwaliteit van die omgewing) en die hoop van vernuwing of herontwikkeling, met die idee om die rigting van strategie te verander sodat 'n nuwe basis vir ekonomiese groei en sosiale welstand gevind kan word. Die herontwikkeling of opbou van die stad beteken nie net die verwydering van nuttelose en ongebruikte geboue en vakante grond nie. Stedelike hernuwing het verskeie komponente of evolusie kriteria, soos die hoof strategie (die fokus van die hernuwingsprogram), 'n ekonomiese fokus, 'n sosiale inhoud, 'n fisiese klem of 'n omgewingsbenadering. Die ekonomiese verandering wat oor die laaste dekade in die wêreld plaasgevind het is vergesel nie net deur 'n fisiese herstrukturering van die wêreld se hoof stede nie, maar ook institusionele hervorming (die opkoms van nuwe firmas en vennootskappe en nuwe ekonomiese en mark geleenthede)

Die fisiese, ekonomiese sosiale en kulturele komponente wat deel vorm van stedelike hernuwingstrategieë dra by tot die heropbou en herontwikkeling van die ekonomiese, sosio-kulturele, politieke-institusioneel en fisiese-omgewingsfabrikaat van stede. Stedelike verval word beveg en die stad word tot so 'n mate herontwikkel dat dit die oorspronklike aantrekkingskrag van die stad herstel. Maar nie alle hernuwingstrategieë is gemik op die Sentrale Sakekern nie, sommige word in 'n wyer konteks geloods, en fokus op areas van verval, vorige benadeelde en gemarginaliseerde areas met as doelwit 'n meer interkonnektiewe stad. Hernuwingsprojekte word steeds op 'n konstante basis geloods in stede soos Kaapstad, Durban en Johannesburg met die oog op die belangrike herontwikkeling van kern areas in die stede. Dit is egter belangrik om in ag te neem dat nie elke stedelike hernuwingsprojek 'n seker sukses is nie, soos die Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Korridor Program. Binne die Kaapse Metropool en in die Sentrale Sakekern is kern areas vir lang tye verontagsaam en toegelaat om te verval. Die onlangse pogings (1999 – 2002) wat aangewend word deur die Kaapstad Munisipaliteit dui op 'n verbintenis van die organisasie se kant af tot stedelike hernuwing. Die organisasie, deur middel van die Stedelike Hernuwingsprogram van 2002, is ook verbind tot areas wat voorheen deur Apartheidsbeleid benadeel en gemarginaliseer is.

Hierdie studie fokus op Kaapstad se benadering tot stedelike hernuwing in die Sentrale Sakekern en ander spesifieke besigheidsnodusse. 'n Literêre oorsig het gehelp om die intellektuele agtergrondmateriaal en logiese raamwerk van die studie te vorm. Sekondêre analise het die doel

van die studie bepaal en kwalitatiewe veldwerk het die ondersoek aangehelp deur observasie en semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude. Die studie sal nie probeer bewys dat elke hernuwingsprojek wat deur die Kaapstad Munisipaliteit geloods word gemik is op die uitwis van stedelike probleme geassosieer met die Apartheidsbeleid nie. Die evaluasie aan die einde van die studie poog om dit uit te wys. Dit is belangrik om te beklemtoon dat elke verskillende area wat die potensiaal toon vir herontwikkeling soos die Victoria en Alfred Waterfront of die Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Korridor (die fokus van die studie) volg verskillende strategieë ten einde hul hernuwingsdoelwit te bereik (ekonomiese ontwikkeling, sosiale fokus of omgewingsbeklemtoning). Die studie het wel die gevolgtrekking gemaak dat van Kaapstad se stedelike hernuwingstrategieë tog ooreenstem met herontwikkelingstrategieë in die res van die wêreld soos in Amerika en Brittanje. Die studie fokus en poog ook om die rigting aan te dui vir toekomstige stedelike hernuwingstrategieë op grond van 'n evaluering van stedelike hernuwingsevolusie kriteria naamlik:

- Die hoofstrategie en rolspelers.
- Die ekonomiese fokus.
- Die sosiale inhoud en
- Die fisiese beklemtoning van hernuwingsselemente.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban regeneration as an idea encapsulates both the perception of city decline (in local economies, in the use of land and buildings, in the quality of the environment and social life) and the hope of renewal, reversing trends in order to find a new basis for economic growth and social wellbeing (Parkinson, 1989). Clearing away obsolete buildings and vacant sites, and producing new building forms and designs symbolises the rebuilding of the city and the renewal in action. The physical reshaping of cities has also been paralleled by economic change and institutional restructuring.

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1.1 Statement of the problem

South Africa's new Umicity authorities face a formidable list of competing priorities for attention. Accelerated economic development is vital to increase jobs and income in a more competitive international environment. Substantial investment in social infrastructure and services is needed to meet basic needs and to reduce historic inequalities. Improved housing is required on a large scale to address dire living conditions and continuing urbanisation. Congestion and crises in the transport system demand urgent investment. Fragmented local administrations needs rationalisation and more effective management systems (Turok & Watson, 2001: 19). This crowded agenda and the pressure for short-term delivery threatens to overshadow the need to reshape and integrate cities. Spatial integration has proved more complex and controversial than anticipated in the mid-1990s.

Despite widespread agreement on the need for change, consistent policies and programmes have not been developed or implemented. Meanwhile, a new spatial-economic dynamic is affecting cities following a steady relaxation of earlier physical controls. In the absence of a coherent urban policy, these forces seem to be producing increasingly unequal and dysfunctional outcomes. Breathing new life into Cape Town will be achieved not by sprawling new developments built on desolate strips of land, but by revitalising the city's existing business districts and neglected residential districts. For the purpose of this study the focus will only be on business districts or nodes and one activity corridor, the central city of Cape Town and the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront and the Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor respectively. Business projects on the fringes of the city will

do more harm than good. If Cape Town wants to avoid the exodus that killed Johannesburg's Central Business District, it has to halt the flight of businesses to far-flung new developments on the fringe and instead revitalise the city's established main route business districts. And this is exactly what the City of Cape Town has done by launching a range of development projects in order to combat urban decay. Via various partnerships between private and public sector, new life has been put back into the heart of the city.

1.1.2 Aims and focus of the study

It is against the above-mentioned background that the broad research aims of this investigation were to:

- Analyse and evaluate the City of Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration in specifically The Central City, The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront and The Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor according to urban regeneration evolution criteria consisting of the following:
 - i) The major strategy and orientation as well as key actors and stakeholders.
 - ii) The economic focus.
 - iii) The social content.
 - iv) The physical emphasis and environmental approach.
- Assess urban regeneration theory, in other words it looked at the history of urban regeneration throughout the world (trends), discussed forms/methods of urban regeneration and key role-players taking part in this process.
- Discuss the history of urban regeneration in general in South Africa and with regards to Cape Town.
- Contextualise the concept urban regeneration by studying the past and present legislation and policy relating to urban regeneration in South Africa and Cape Town, in other words what kind of legislative and policy initiatives influenced the Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration in the study areas and which roleplayers had a influence on urban regeneration (who formed the city).
- Analysed Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration in business areas (the Central Business District), including those outside the Central Business District, assessing the creation of urban regeneration policy, development frameworks like the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF), the Cape Town Central City Framework and the Wetton-Landsdowne

Phillipi Corridor Programme. Figure 1.1 presents the wider study area, the Cape Metropolitan Region, in context.

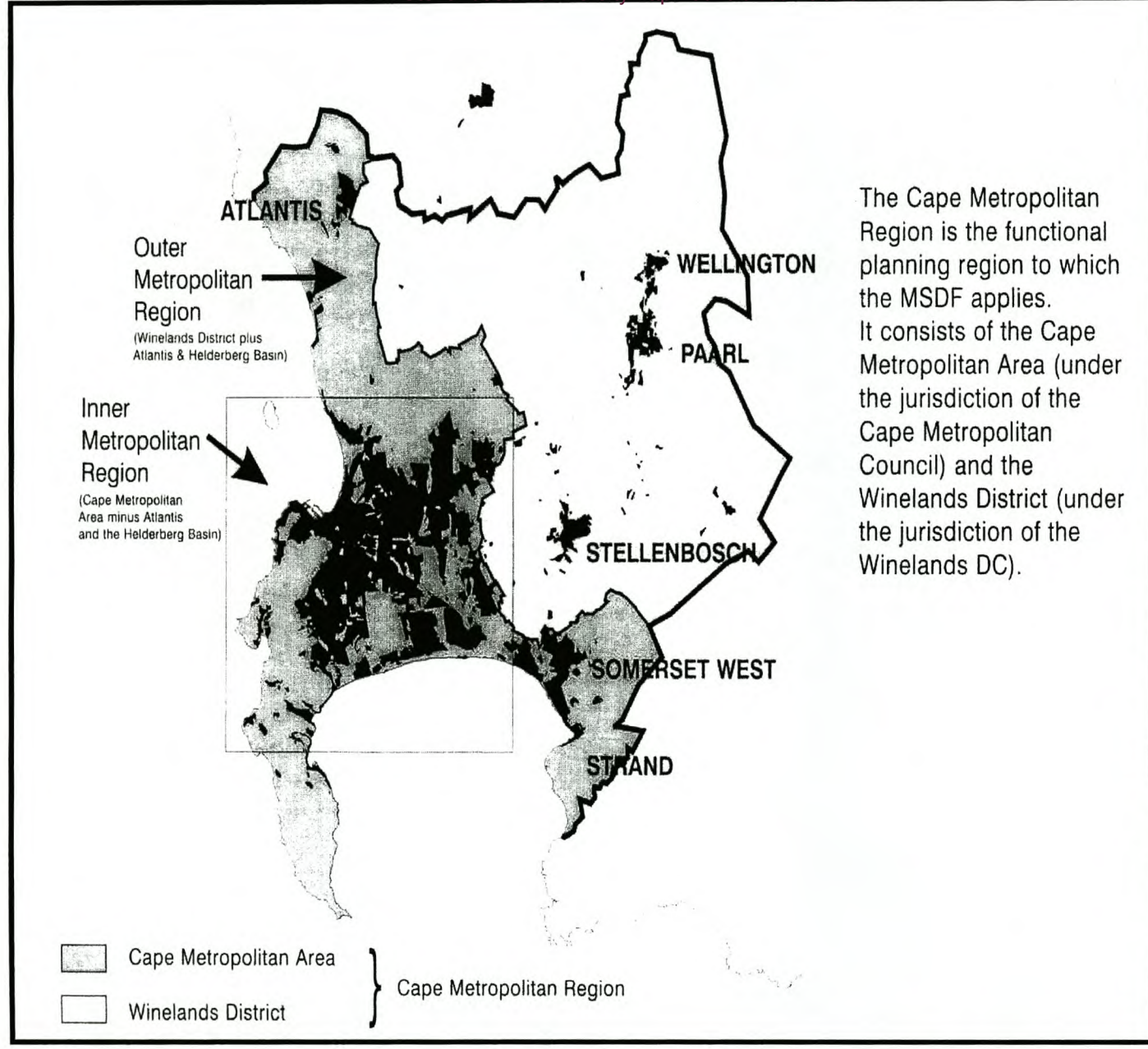


Figure 1.1 The Cape Metropolitan Region

Source: Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: x

Specific flagship projects inside as well as outside the Central Business District were analysed with regards to their urban renewal approach. Comparisons on urban regeneration approaches were made between Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A critical review of the literature identified the large corpus of established knowledge, highlighted gaps in previous research and demonstrated the significance and justification for this investigation and particular mode of enquiry. The progression from theory, to concepts, to tentative hypothesis (Marshall & Rossman, 1995) helped to focus the research questions and process of investigation. A foray into related theoretical and empirical literature revealed that this topic clearly provides a focus for interdisciplinary investigation. Urban planners (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1991; Dewar and Todeschini, 1999), geographers (Roberts & Sykes, 2000) and property developers (Cadman & Topping, 1996) have all made significant contributions from different vantage points and clearly defined disciplinary basis. A review of theoretical literature (Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Carmon, 1997 and Kent A. Robertson, 1995) has provided valuable insights into the major themes and wider debates pertaining to the different strategies of urban regeneration and redevelopment.

1.3 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

1.3.1 Research method

The literature review gives an intellectual background to the study and builds a logical framework for research and illustrates and substantiates both theoretical and empirical observations. Secondary analysis is a form of research in which documents or data gathered and authored by other persons are reanalysed (Baily, 1985; Mann, 1976) although the secondary analyst's research goal is generally different from that of the first researcher. Qualitative research refers to the inductive method of gathering data whilst incorporating deductive processes, and is integral to a study of this nature. The fundamental qualitative field research methods used in this investigation include direct observation (meetings attended between Cape Town Municipality and the Cape Town Partnership on Central City issues: Clive Saunders the Senior Planner), participant observation (Collaborated with Jo-Anne Mandelstam from Cape Town Municipality Spatial Planning Department on Central City Issues and a approach towards a urban renewal study), semi-structured interviewing and discussion (Elmien Steyn from the Urban Renewal Programme: Cape Town Unicity). The case

study approach combines quantitative and qualitative modes of observation while investigating a particular locality within its real-life context (Yin, 1985). The application of the case study approach as an empirical qualitative inquiry method is to focus on particular attributes of a specific locality (Rubin & Babbie, 1993).

1.3.2 The research procedure

The initial research problem gave rise to the research process. The research procedure, which reflects the research problem and methodology, incorporates ways of creating and measuring the relevant variables and appropriate statistical procedures for analysing the data. The procedure can be shortly summarised in the following steps:

- The gathering of data
- Empirical fieldwork
- Participant observation
- Observation
- Semi-structured interviewing and discussion.

1.4 THE RESEARCH AGENDA

The research problem outlined in Chapter 1 provided the impetus for the formulation of the research design, aims and methodology. The chapter progression for the remainder of this study is illustrated in **Figure 1. 2** and includes the following sections:

- **Chapter 2** (entitled Urban Regeneration Theory) provides the study with a theoretical framework on urban regeneration theory. It interprets the evolution of urban regeneration theory in the post-war era, analyse the different approaches to urban regeneration strategies followed by some First World countries like the United States. It also assessed the role of the different stakeholders and actors in the urban redevelopment process.
- **Chapter 3** (entitled Urban Regeneration History in South Africa) provided the information on why urban redevelopment had become such a major urban challenge in the past decade (1992 – 2002) in South Africa. What were the contributing factors? An analysis of Apartheid planning law provides the answer.

- **Chapter 4** (entitled Contextualising Urban Regeneration) places the concept in perspective with regards to the City of Cape Town. The Apartheid City presented South Africa's major cities with decisive urban challenges and one of the potential remedies proved to be strategically planned urban renewal. The chapter analysed the city's new approach to urban redevelopment and provided examples of its commitment to eradicating urban blight.
- **Chapter 5** (entitled Cape Town Municipality's approach to urban regeneration in the Central Business District and other business nodes) provided the next step in the evolution of Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration. It investigated the approach of development frameworks like the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF, 1996) to setting the guidelines for urban redevelopment. Case studies in the Central City as well as in the metropole itself provided examples of physical urban redevelopment projects launched within the framework of urban renewal. Comparisons in urban regeneration approach were made with to other major South African cities, Durban and Johannesburg.
- **Chapter 6** (entitled Evaluation) provides a evaluation of Cape Town's approach towards urban regeneration over the period 1993 – 2002, according to urban regeneration evolution criteria. Findings were not always positive and some critique was delivered on projects not that well launched or those that ignored public participation.

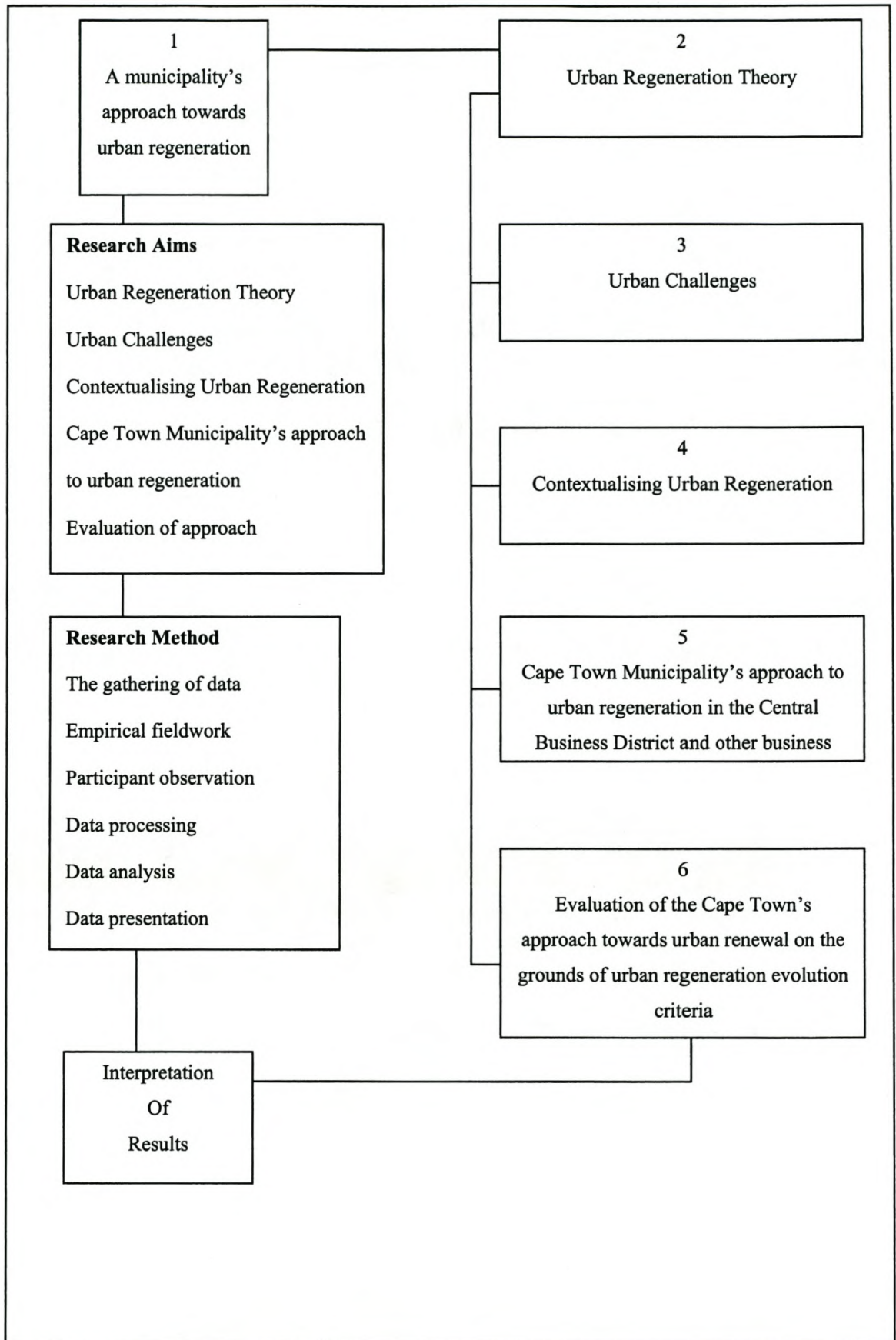


Figure 1.2 The Research Agenda

CHAPTER 2

URBAN REGENERATION THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The urban regeneration phenomenon is widely experienced, known and yet poorly understood. Urban renewal has also been an important and controversial public issue. Although most towns and cities have been involved in urban regeneration schemes and whilst many development companies, financial institutions and community organisations have participated in one or more such ventures, there is no single prescribed form of urban regeneration practice and no single authoritative source of information (Gibson & Langstaff 1982; Roberts & Sykes 2000).

The 'inner cities debate' taking place during the mid-1970's marked the end of a transitional decade in the development of urban renewal, during which the major relevant housing and planning policies established in the immediate post-wars years were transformed. Since the late 1960's some of the major problems associated with inner urban areas – poverty, unemployment, poor housing, inadequate schools, hard pressed social services, and deteriorating environmental conditions – have received increasing attention from academics, welfare professionals, politicians and the media.

Large-scale comprehensive redevelopment and the dispersal of population and employment have been replaced by policies for the modernisation of nineteenth century residential areas and attempts to stem the loss of jobs. There have been increasing efforts to stimulate economic regeneration and integrate this with modified versions of longer established housing, environmental and social policies. The renewal of older neighbourhoods in cities and towns has a long history and has become a main focus of national urban policy in the early 1980's especially in Britain (Gibson & Langstaff, 1982: 11). Cape Town was no exemption. During the 1970's there was a visible stagnation of the harbour and growing calls for its redevelopment (Bickford-Smith et al, 1994: 81).

Thus cities all across the globe were experiencing inner city problems and out of these problems stem the first initiatives to face the urban challenges that lied ahead. The concept urban renewal to a certain extend was one of the solutions to these urban challenges and problems. This constitutes the reason for a brief overview into the origins of the concept urban renewal.

2.2 URBAN RENEWAL AND URBAN REGENERATION: HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

The term urban renewal is American in origin. It refers there, and in many other countries, to the redevelopment or rehabilitation of the older parts of towns and cities, including the central business areas. In practice, urban renewal has often meant the displacement of an existing low-income population, creating space for more profitable office, commercial and luxury residential development or the provision of transport facilities (Gibson & Langstaff, 1982: 12). Four to five decades ago this was often the effect urban renewal policy had on poorer, lower income areas in the city or near to the central city business areas. Cape Town was no exception. District Six was an clear example of urban renewal policy which had the effect of displacing lower income earners and making the area more attractive as an business district or higher income residential area.

In Britain, urban renewal had been closely linked to housing reform for the urban poor since the very late nineteenth century. While the same type of commercial pressures have resulted in the destruction of some housing in city centres in Britain, it has been minimal compared with the impact of urban renewal justified and executed as a means of improving housing and environmental conditions. Renewal policies in Britain have inevitably been bound up with the issue of working standards and debate about the scale and nature of state intervention. At that time, the early eighties, the key issue was the gap between the quality of accommodation which working class households can afford out of income and some notion of minimum acceptable living conditions (Gibson & Langstaff, 1982: 12).

According to Cullingworth (1962: 1) urban renewal involves " *the substitution of new social capital for old ...in a programme for providing twentieth century amenities in nineteenth century towns*". Gibson & Langstaff (1982: 5) in their book "An introduction to urban renewal" made reference to five phases in the development of national urban renewal policy namely:

- i) slum clearance and redevelopment from its nineteenth century origins to its zenith in the late 1960's;
- ii) the shift of emphasis to housing and environmental improvement in the early 1970's;
- iii) the emergence of gradual renewal in the mid-1970's, combining selective clearance with improvement;
- iv) a series of priority area experiments concerned with urban deprivation; and
- v) current efforts to evolve a more comprehensive approach incorporating economic renewal.

This urban renewal approach was however not only adopted by the West in places like the United States of America or Britain. Similarly in the East, in cities like Singapore, a sense or desire for rebuilding central business areas were developing and urban renewal evolved over a few decades. Carter (1982: 29) and Whitehand (1983: 41 – 59) describes urban morphological change, particularly that of the city centre, as a historical process, and it is often reflective of political and economic priorities and in recent times planning directions. Planning directions and accompanying priorities are respectively influenced by prevailing ideological thinking and planning concepts available at the time. In open societies, the scope and scale of change are strongly associated with the urgency of the development agenda, which in turn are subjected to domestic policy and international circumstances. An ex-colony and a strategic entrepôt of Britain in the Far East until its independence in 1965, Singapore has since adopted a developmental approach to boost its export-led production system through extensive trade links with the developed West. It is the developed countries that the city-state has been strongly dependent on for multinational investments, market exports and, to a substantial extent, transfer of technology and workforce upgrading (Wong, 2001: 155).

Singapore's post-war transformation of its downtown core from a dualistic and 'traditional' core into a Western-modelled new financial district happened over a period of approximately 55 years, from 1945 – 2000. Urban renewal took place in 4 phases according to Wong (2001: 155): the prelude to urban renewal: 1945 – 1959; the early stage of urban renewal: 1960 – 1970; concept plan implementation and urban redevelopment: 1971 – 1990; and post-revised concept plan after 1991. Urban problems like urbanisation, population growth, over population, urban decay and environmental degradation force city authorities to adopt constructive urban renewal strategies. But urban renewal policy and strategy evolved over time and decades as these problems increased and became synonyms, not only with a few cities, but also with cities all across the globe. Therefore city authorities all over the world adopted similar urban renewal strategies. But not only did urban renewal strategies, policies and implementation change over time, urban renewal itself also evolved to urban regeneration. Urban regeneration is the modern version of urban renewal and discussion of this concept is necessary to underlie these fundamental changes that took place over long periods of time. **Table 2.1** traces some of the major changes that have occurred in the approach to, and content of, urban policy and practice from the 1950s to the present day.

Table 2.1 The evolution of urban regeneration

Period	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Policy	Reconstruction	Revitalisation	Renewal	Redevelopment	Regeneration
Type					
Major strategy and orientation	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'masterplan'; suburban growth	Continuation of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation	Focus on <i>insitu</i> renewal and neighbourhood schemes; still development at periphery	Many major schemes of Development and redevelopment; flagship projects; out of town projects	Move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments
Key actors and stakeholders	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors	Growing role of private sector and decentralisation in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of Partnerships	Partnership the dominant approach
Spatial level of activity	Emphasis on local and site levels	Regional level of activity emerged	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity
Economic focus	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement	Continuing from 1950s with growing influence of private investment	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment	Private sector dominant with selective public Funds	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding
Social content	Improvement of housing and living standards	Social and welfare improvement	Community-based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support	Emphasis on the role of the community
Physical emphasis	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral development	Some continuation from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas	More extensive renewal of older urban areas	Major schemes of replacement and new Development; 'flagship schemes'	More modest than 1980s; heritage and retention
Environmental approach	Landscaping and some greening	Selective improvements	Environmental improvement with some innovations	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability

Source: Roberts & Sykes, 2000: 14, based on Stöhr (1989) and Lichfeld (1992)

In the immediate period after 1945 repairing wartime damage and reconstructing the fabric of towns and cities, many of which had been neglected for years, initially took priority. The emphasis in the 1940s and 1950s was on reconstruction, replacement and the eradication of the physical problems of the past. By the mid-1960s it was apparent that many of the post-war solutions had simply transferred the location and altered the manifestation of urban problems. Urban policy shifted towards improvement and renewal. The so-called 'discovery' of the inner city led to major expansions of urban initiatives during the 1970s (Roberts, 2000: 15 – 16).

According to Turok (1987: 73) many of these 1970s urban policy initiatives initially continued into the 1980s, although substantial modifications and additions were subsequently introduced. Most significantly, during the 1980s there was a move away from the idea that the central state should or could provide all the resources required in order supporting policy interventions. This new policy stance was matched by a greater emphasis on the role of partnerships. The more commercial style of urban redevelopment evident in the 1980s reflected yet another set of changes in the nature and structure of political philosophy and control. Further adjustments to the form and operation of urban policy have occurred in the 1990s, with a gradual move back to a more consensual style of politics and the recognition of a series of new problems and challenges. One example of the new policy formulation of the 1990s is the acceptance of the need to work in accord with the environmental objectives of sustainable development. Although this new challenge of environmentally sustainable development has not yet fully imposed its characteristics on the functioning of urban areas, there is little doubt that it is likely to dominate the theory and practice of urban regeneration and urban management in the future (Roberts, 2000: 16).

Urban areas are complex and very dynamic systems. Urban areas reflect the many processes that drive physical, social, environmental and economic transition and are indeed prime generators themselves of many such changes. No single town, city or metropole is immune from either the external forces that dictate the need to adapt, or the internal pressures that are present within urban areas and which can precipitate growth or decline. Urban regeneration is an outcome of the interplay between these many sources of influence and, it is also a response to the opportunities and challenges which are presented by urban degeneration in a particular place at a specific moment in time. This should not be taken to suggest that all urban problems are unique to a particular town or city, or that solutions advocated and attempted in the past have little relevance to the circumstances of the current day. But it is the case that each urban challenge is likely to require the construction and implementation of a specific response (Roberts, 2000: 9).

2.3 URBAN REGENERATION: DEFINITION, PRINCIPLES AND PROCESS

2.3.1 Definition

Roberts (2000: 17) gives the following definition of urban regeneration *"comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change"*. Lichfield (1992: 36) points out *"the need for a better understanding of the processes of decline"* and an *"agreement on what one is trying to achieve and how"*. Hausner (1993: 523 – 33) emphasises the inherent weakness of approaches to regeneration that are *"short-term, fragmented, ad hoc and project-based without an overall strategic framework for city-wide development"*. Donnison (1993: 19) calls for *"new ways of tackling our problems, which focus in a co-ordinated way on problems and on the areas where those problems are concentrated"*. Urban regeneration moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal, which is seen by Couch (1990: 14) as *"a process of essentially physical change"*. It is also significant that urban regeneration implies that any approach to tackling the problems encountered in towns and cities should be constructed with a longer-term, more strategic, purpose in mind. Building on the definitions provided above, a number of principles could be identified that is the hallmark of urban regeneration. Reflecting on the challenges of urban change and their outcomes constitutes the reason for a brief discussion of the key principles of urban regeneration.

2.3.2 Principles

According to Roberts (2000: 18) urban regeneration should:

- be based upon a detailed analysis of the condition of an urban area;
- ensure that a strategy and the resulting programmes of implementation are developed in accord with the aims of sustainable development;
- seek to ensure consensus through the fullest possible participation and co-operation of all stakeholders with a legitimate interest in the regeneration of an urban area; this may be achieved through partnership or other modes of working;
- accept the likelihood that initial programmes of implementation will need to be revised in-line with such changes as occur and recognise the reality that the various elements of a strategy are likely to make progress at different speeds; the redirection or introduction of new resources thus

is possible in order to maintain a broad balance between the aims encompassed in a scheme of urban regeneration and to allow for the achievement of all the strategies above.

Figure 2.1 provides an illustration of the interaction between these and many other factors. The diagram also indicates the variety of themes and topics involved in urban regeneration and the multiplicity of interrelated outputs.

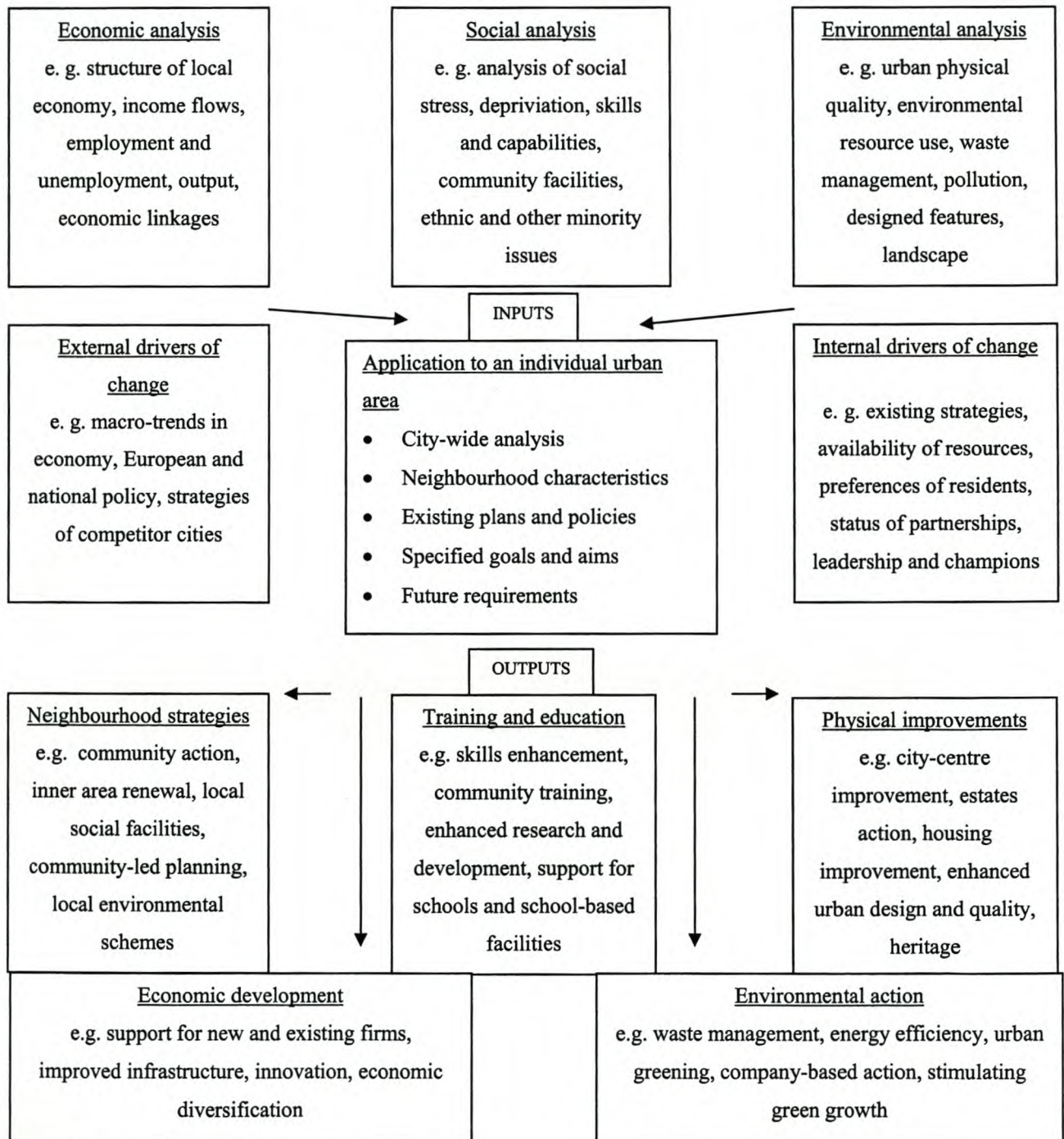


Figure 2.1 The Urban Regeneration Process

Source: Roberts & Sykes, 2000: 20

Above and beyond these requirements, which support the principles of urban regeneration as stated above, is the desirability of ensuring that urban areas make a positive contribution to national economic performance and to the attainment of a range of other social and environmental goals. Hausner (1993: 523 – 33) emphasises that an individual scheme of urban regeneration should both reflect the wider circumstances and requirements of the city or region in which it is located, and according to McGregor & McConnachie (1995: 1587 – 600) the same individual scheme must seek to reduce social exclusion and enhance the economic reintegration of disadvantaged urban areas. In the past some observers have argued that disadvantaged urban areas, and in particular the inner cities, act as a drag upon national and regional success and should be abandoned, but the evidence for such a stance is flimsy according to Roberts (2000: 18). More recent assessments dismiss the view that disadvantaged inner urban areas should be abandoned because they are no longer important to the success and prosperity of the regions and nations in which they are located. This point has been expressed with force on both sides of the Atlantic. Stegman (1995: 1601 – 7) notes that *“the tragedy of the inner city affects everyone”* and that the *“overall performance of metropolitan regions is linked to the performance of their central cities, and urban distress moves outwards from the core”*. Stegman underlines the very important point that indeed cities matter, and that the task of ensuring the effective regeneration of an urban area is of fundamental importance to a wide range of actors and stakeholders, including local communities, city and national government, property owners and investors, economic activities of all kind, and environmental organisations at all levels from the global to the local.

2.3.3 From theory to practice

When studying urban regeneration theory, two problems arise namely the absence of a single accepted theory that is capable of explaining the entire range of issues related to the occurrence and outcomes of urban change, and the existence of widely differing views as to what constitutes the scope and competence of urban regeneration (Roberts, 2000: 20). Most theories on urban change provide only a partial insight into what is essentially a very complex process. Urban regeneration is by its very nature an interventionist activity. Traditionally the state has been leading many forms of intervention, while the desirability of intervening in order to correct a failure of the market has increasingly become a matter of public-private consensus. But it must also be taken in account that consensus cannot emerge, neither continue to function, if there is an absence of the necessary institutional structures. Creating these institutional structures requires the establishment of a central

objective (or objectives) and the introduction of a means of mobilising collective effort in order to manage change in an orderly matter (Roberts, 2000: 21).

According to Roberts (2000: 21) one attempt to explain and understand the importance of creating a framework within which new forms of collective effort can be developed and applied has been contributed by the regulation school. Knox (1995: 15) based this theory on “the concept of successive regimes of accumulation” in which “each regime develops an accompanying mode of regulation”. This does not call for the eradication of regulation through a reduction in the scope of the activity. In reality new patterns of social, political and economic relations emerge. These new forms of control and intervention have emerged as a response to unexpected challenges. New methods for arriving at consensus are to be established. As Healy (1995: 22) has urged, one of the most important features of this mobilisation of collective effort is that it encourages a diversity of discourses *“not merely about content, but about the process through which people seek to debate their concerns”*.

Urban regeneration theory is principally concerned with the institutional and organisational dynamics of the management of urban change. A number of important characteristics and features of these institutional and organisational dimensions of the theory of urban regeneration are displayed and they help to define the role, content and mode of operation of urban regeneration. Urban regeneration as a distinct activity is rooted in practice rather than theory and a high degree of similarity between the features of theory and practice is to be expected. Roberts (2000: 22) states that urban regeneration can be seen as:

- an interventionist activity;
- an activity which straddles the public, private and community sectors;
- an activity which is likely to experience considerable changes in its institutional structures over time in response to changing economic, social, environmental and political circumstances;
- a means of mobilising collective effort and providing the basis for the negotiation of appropriate solutions;
- a means of determining policies and actions designed to improve the condition of urban areas and developing the institutional structures necessary to support the preparation of specific proposals.

The other major element of urban regeneration theory relates to the functioning of the urban system as a whole and to the operation of the economic, social, physical and environmental processes that determine the content of urban regeneration. Robson (1988: 27) has identified four main elements of the processes involved in urban change: industrial restructuring in pursuit of maximising returns; factor constraints including the availability of land and buildings; the real or perceived unattractiveness of urban areas; and the social composition of urban areas. The identification of these elements assists in defining the content of urban regeneration.

Lichfield (1992: 38 – 44) suggested that integration is a central feature of urban regeneration and this feature helps to distinguish urban regeneration from earlier partial attempts to manage change in urban areas. Individual sectorised initiatives are not unwelcome but it is apparent that, for example, an isolated property-led solution cannot be expected to address the full range of economic, social and environmental problems that are encountered in urban areas. This suggests that urban regeneration is a strategic process and as Hickling (1974: 7) has put it: *“urban regeneration is about managing decisions through the use of strategic choice”*. Urban regeneration should work towards a strategic agenda.

According to Roberts (1990: 22) a system for the strategic management of urban regeneration should place emphasis on the need to create clarity regarding the intended outcomes of regeneration, the provision of a framework within which specific plans and projects can be designed and implemented, establishing and maintaining links between the policy systems involved, identifying the roles and responsibilities of the actors and organisations involved in regeneration, and generating a sense of common purpose and co-operation.

2.4 WHY REGENERATION FOR URBAN AREAS?

Crime, physical blight, social polarisation and many other causes can change forever the composition and social structure of a community or neighbourhood. Physical decay, changing transportation and accessibility requirements, or the impossibility of adapting buildings to accommodate new uses can sweep away an industrial, warehousing, residential or retail district. However there is no single cause of these urban problems and indeed these urban problems creates the initiative for redesign, reconstruction, redevelopment and urban regeneration. Kuklinski (1990: 45) has argued that spatial policy needs two principal goals, economic efficiency and social equity, and that achieving a balance between these can help to resolve problems by mobilising potential.

Porter (1995: 55 – 71) suggested that analysis which focuses equally upon the competitive advantage of urban areas, and especially those of the inner city, tend to be more helpful than models which limit their attention solely to the role of welfare policy in the resolution of urban problems.

According to Roberts (2000: 24) in light of the above mentioned four major aspects of urban change should be considered, namely:

- economic transition and employment change;
- social and community issues;
- physical obsolescence and new land and property requirements;
- environmental quality and sustainable development

2.4.1 Economic transition and employment change

Economic change is not a new phenomenon, nor is there any lack of analysis or policy prescription with regard to the subject. In Britain Hannington (1937: 13) pointed out evidence that suggests the breakdown of the traditional urban economic order when the basic industries of the system are plunged into continuous slump. Robson (1988: 28 - 30) saw the urban problem as part of a broader process of restructuring in which older urban areas have suffered most due to the inherent weaknesses in the structure of their economic base and their inability to adapt to new trading and infrastructural requirements. The identification of the fundamental structural weaknesses evident in the economics of the older urban areas led researchers in the 1980s to investigate a variety of casual factors including the 'urban-rural' shift (Fotherhill & Gudgin, 1982: 22) and the 'spatial division of labour' (Massey, 1984: 46). More recently, the top-down analysis of the 1980s have been balanced by locally rooted assessments of other aspects of the difficulties experienced by the urban labour force in gaining access to new economic opportunities. In many cases this is seen to be due to the absence of appropriate skills and experience (McGregor & McConnachie, 1995: 1587 – 600), resulting in the 'social exclusion' of substantial segments of the labour force.

2.4.2 Social and Community Issues

Economic transition provides initial insight into the origins of many of the social problems, which have beset our urban areas. But other influences have also dictated the scale and occurrence of social problems in town and cities. Such influences reflect the evolution of socio-demographic

trends, the adjustment and breakdown of traditional family and community structures, the changing nature and outcomes of urban policy, and the consequences of changing social perceptions and values. Socio-demographic change in recent decades has seen the movement of population away from the older areas in general, and from the inner cities in particular. This decentralisation of population has been both planned and unplanned according to Lawless (1989: 15).

Some households left the city as a result of the construction of peripheral housing estates, the planned expansion of urban areas beyond the immediate sphere of influence of the city of origin, and the building of new towns. However, the majority of those leaving the older areas have done so through their decision to move to new areas of private housing. Reasons for such moves are: the availability of cheaper and more attractive housing, the search for an improved quality of life and the desire to gain access to a better range of services. This adjustment in residential preferences also reflects the changing location of employment opportunities (Roberts, 2000:26).

One of the causes of these changes has been the breakdown of traditional structures of community and kinship. The disappearance of traditional sources of employment, the effect of policies aimed at rehousing urban residents, the impact of infrastructure and commercial property development, the decay of the environment, and the absence of adequate social facilities, have combined to erode the cohesion of many urban communities. With the breakdown of the support provided by the neighbourhood, other problems have emerged which have led to further instability and decline. In this situation new issues arise, including the spatial concentration in the inner cities of black immigrants and the urban poor (Roberts, 2000:26).

Race is now a significant factor in many (this would include Developed and Developing countries, like America, Britain and South Africa) urban areas, and it is important according to Couch (1990: 16 – 18) that those that are concerned with intervention in urban renewal should be particularly aware of the racial aspects and implications of policy. New immigrants and the children of earlier generations have added an ethnic dimension to many of the issues confronting urban communities. These new groups have also contributed new resources and sources of potential according to Oc (1995: 3). Thus in conclusion the city and especially the inner city is no longer an attractive place that can provide in all the necessary requirements for a better quality of life. Urban regeneration can change such a perspective as well as the existing unacceptable social conditions.

2.4.3 Physical Obsolescence and New Requirements

According to Roberts (2000: 27) one of the most obvious manifestations of the 'urban problem' is the physical obsolescence of many parts of our towns and cities. *In situ* decay, the functional obsolescence of buildings, derelict sites, outdated infrastructure and the changed accessibility requirements of the users of urban areas, combine to present a major task for urban regeneration. Physical decline can be explained by analysing and identifying economic, social and institutional factors that contribute to this decline, but at the same time these factors can also be redirected in order to lay the foundations for urban regeneration. Turok (1992: 24) argues that a wider mandate for property-led urban regeneration would help to ensure that physical action for towns and cities also made a greater contribution to the economic and social well being of such areas.

Physical problems arise due to changes in the requirements of the users of urban land and premises, the deterioration of urban buildings, and as a consequence of market failures in the system of land ownership and control. Often not always there is a space constraint on the location of economic activities in the inner areas of many cities. For example: firms leave the city in search of additional space and lower operational costs. Job competition, new residential preferences exerted by employees, has resulted in the provision of alternative locations that are often better served by modern infrastructure and lower rent costs or land values (Roberts, 2000:27).

When analysing the physical problems as a whole it is important to note the influence of planning systems. In some cases blight and neglect have resulted from over-ambitious planning schemes that have exceeded their capacity for implementation, while in other instances planning has acted as an enabling force that has generated positive change. Roberts, Struthers and Sacks (1993: 87) makes it clear that achieving urban regeneration requires far more than traditional land-use planning; it has to encompass a broader strategy of urban management which relates investment, physical intervention, social action and strategic planning – to other associated policy fields.

2.4.4 Environmental Quality and Sustainable Development

The very existence of 'unsustainable urbanisation' indicates the origins and impacts of towns and cities that have been developed to serve the goals of economic growth. According to Roberts (1995: 55) a city draws water, energy and many other resources from distant points leaving an environmental or ecological footprint of its consumption pattern. Urban areas generate

environmental costs that are not matched by benefits. These costs include the excessive consumption of energy, the inefficient use of raw materials, the neglect of open space, and the pollution of land, water and the atmosphere. The successful town or city of the future will increasingly be judged on its environmental performance and appearance according to Ache, Bremm and Kunzmann (1990: 33).

The new challenge for urban regeneration is to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development. *"The world's economic system is increasingly an urban one"* and this system *"provides the backbone for natural development"* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987: 235)

2.5 STRATEGIES FOR URBAN REGENERATION

2.5.1 Introduction

The downtowns of American cities present a great dilemma. Downtowns are viewed as the key but troubled ingredient of the overall metropolitan fabric, especially by civic and business leaders. Downtowns are definitive of overall city identity, so all cities of all sizes in all regions are committed to successful downtown redevelopment. Yet, despite three decades of continuous redevelopment policies and projects, most American downtowns still have serious economic problems and are perceived, particularly by suburbanites, as inconvenient, obsolete, and even dangerous places. However, some believe that redevelopment has contributed to shaping a new downtown, one with a more specialised role in the metropolitan region (Robertson, 1995: 429).

2.5.2 The Declining American Downtown

According to Muller (1980: 747 – 55) the American downtowns of the early twentieth century – shaped by pedestrian traffic and mass transit, particularly the electric streetcar – were at their zenith. According to Smerk (1967: 569 – 84) streetcar systems were laid out in radial configuration that converged on the downtown, making it the most accessible part of the city and bringing thousands of workers, shoppers, and visitors there. The high density of the central core accommodated pedestrians; destinations were almost always within easy walking distance. Downtowns were centres of highly concentrated activity, with streets and sidewalks that pulsated with human activity,

the highest land values in the city, and the full spectrum of economic activities (Robertson, 1993b: 361 – 70).

According to Abbot (1993: 5 – 27) American downtowns reached its pinnacle during the 1920s, but has shown steadily decline ever since. The thinning out of downtown activities, together with urban renewal policies enacted during the 1950s and 1960s, produced downtowns vastly different from those of the early 20th century. Densities decreased significantly as core blocks were raised, and development increased on the periphery. Downtowns became less pedestrian-friendly and the distances between activities increased making them less walkable. Sidewalks narrowed to widen streets for more automobiles, and walking became more dangerous both because of more heavy traffic, increased downtown crime, and a reduction in on-street activities thus making walking less attractive and less of a pleasure. Downtown became characterised increasingly by “dead spaces” – uninteresting parking lots, ramps, vacant buildings, and blank-walled office buildings. Fewer people commuted by mass transit and the influence of the downtown faded (Robertson, 1995: 430).

2.5.3 Major Downtown Redevelopment Strategies

In planning for downtowns, cities large and small tend to rely upon a familiar set of redevelopment strategies, which will be described in the following section. These strategies commonly relate to urban design and land use, and in most cases are also integrated with financial and promotional tactics. These strategies are rarely used in isolation and these strategies are often used simultaneously. According to Robertson (1995: 430) they can be summarised as the following:

- i) pedestrianisation,
- ii) indoor shopping centres,
- iii) historic preservation,
- iv) waterfront developments,
- v) office development and
- vi) special activity generators.

- **Pedestrianisation**

Brambilla and Longo (1977: 38) argues that most downtown planners would agree that making the downtown area more pedestrian-friendly will improve traffic management, economic revitalisation, and environmental quality. One of the most important benefits however are that improving the

environment for pedestrians will create an attractive image of downtown for potential users. The vitality and the positive image of the downtown are measured not by economic indicators, but by the volume of pedestrian activity. Regardless of whatever the quality of the surrounding buildings, downtowns without pedestrians look lifeless and boring. Varied planning tactics have been implemented to attract pedestrians downtown, from widening the sidewalks, to improving safety and security, to creating more and better sitting spaces. The most visible and acclaimed tactic is to separate pedestrians from vehicular traffic, usually by building grade-level pedestrian malls or above-grade skywalk systems (Robertson, 1995: 430).

Pedestrian malls are of three types according to Robertson (1993a: 361 – 70): 1) traditional pedestrian streets, designed for pedestrians only, 2) shared malls, which allow limited automobile traffic, and 3) transit malls, which accommodate both transit and pedestrian use. Pedestrian malls generally have increased the amount and quality of downtown open space and have enhanced human-scale amenities there, but they have failed to spur retail development. A pedestrian mall, no matter how well designed, has small chance of success in an already dying downtown with low pedestrian volume. The skywalk system is another variation on the pedestrian mall concept. Only a few American cities built skywalks during the 1960s – for example Minneapolis and Cincinnati. Skywalk systems is a network of pedestrian walkways including skybridges over streets and second-story corridors within buildings, linking retail and service establishments that often have no direct access to the street level (Robertson, 1995: 431).

Although skywalk systems have proved to be able to attract economic development and have accumulated in various downtowns in America they do have some problems. Economically, they often reduce the value of ground-level space and of buildings not connected to the system. Aesthetically, they can damage the facades of older downtown buildings and the major sightlines for landmarks and vistas. Socially, they have the potential to segregate people by social class, they are perceived as reserved for white-collar office workers (Robertson, 1995: 431). And according to Maitland (1992: 162 – 69) and Robertson (1993a: 361 – 70) as they reduce the amount of street-level pedestrian traffic volume they can damage the overall image of the downtown area.

- **Indoor Shopping Centres**

Since most cities blame suburban malls for the steady erosion of downtown retail sales, it is not surprising that many downtowns try to compete with the suburbs by constructing an indoor

shopping mall downtown. Downtown malls in the centre of city and those in the suburbs share the same key characteristics: centralised management, a carefully planned retail mix, the domination of national chains over local independents, and a clean, secure, attractive, and climate-controlled environment. Downtown shopping centres differ from their suburban counterparts in their vertical construction – due to higher land costs – and the lack of free parking (Robertson, 1995: 431).

According to Frieden and Sagalyn (1989: 142) three types of downtown centres have emerged: 1) regional shopping malls centred around traditional anchor department stores, 2) mixed-used centres, which integrate retailing with a hotel, transit terminal, or convention centre, and 3) festival marketplaces, which offer a series of unusual shops, emphasise food and entertainment as much as retailing, and often incorporate an historical theme. While many indoor shopping centres have been successful economically, they are nevertheless open to some criticism. Lorch and Smith (1993: 75 - 86) refers to two problems associated with indoor shopping malls: 1) the first is what they call the fortress effect; indoor shopping malls are self-contained structures poorly integrated with the surroundings, a drawback that minimise spillover effects. 2) The distance-decay effect suggests that downtown establishments located more than one or two blocks from the indoor mall will receive only minimal spillover benefits, and may actually suffer reduced activity because of the mall's magnetic pull. And according to Gilette (1985: 449 – 60) these enclosed shopping centres can encourage “commercial gentrification” by which national chains selling speciality items to more affluent shoppers drive out local independents offering basic goods and services.

- **Historic Preservation**

Preservation offers people an attribute of downtown that is rare in suburbia. As a redevelopment tool, historic preservation takes advantage of the facts that most downtowns have an abundance of the architecturally distinctive old buildings that many people are attracted by, and that these buildings are underused. Adaptive reuse, by which a structure constructed for one purpose (e. g., a railroad terminal, a bank) is converted to a different one (e.g., a festival marketplace, a restaurant), is widely relied on to preserve downtown buildings or even an entire district (Robertson, 1995: 432).

Two preservation projects common in larger cities are festival marketplaces and special historic districts. Festival markets differ from traditional shopping malls in the following ways: 1) their unusual mix of local speciality shops, 2) the lack of anchor department stores, 3) the strong

emphasis on entertainment and food, 4) the importance of historic and/or architectural themes, and 5) their specialised target market – affluent, well-educated, young adults.

Since their introduction in the 1970s they have shown to be very popular, but their use in downtown developments waned over the years. People would browse, not buy and the speciality market became over-saturated. In smaller cities the Main Street approach is more likely to bring success. Four principles are to be adhered to, 1) organisation of downtown interests and groups, 2) promotion, 3) design that enhances visual qualities and historic architecture, and 4) economic restructuring and diversification (Robertson, 1995: 432).

• Waterfront Developments

The sight, sound and feel of water naturally attract people, which is why waterfront developments almost always prosper. It offers the public an amenity not found in the suburbs. Few suburban malls have waterfronts, but most old downtowns are near bodies of water, which probably were instrumental to their founding and earlier prosperity. A major issue for downtown waterfront plans is the competition among possible uses that are often incompatible: industry, fishing, commerce, housing, recreation, open space, and tourism (Robertson, 1995: 432).

McBee (1992: 27) offers three classifications of waterfront uses to help planners determine a city's priorities. The first is "water dependent uses" which are totally dependent on the waterfront, such as, marinas, ferry terminals, and shipbuilding. The second is "water-related uses" which are those that are enhanced by the waterfront location but could also prosper elsewhere: resorts, aquariums, restaurants, and seafood processing plants. The third classification, "water-enhanced uses," are those such as hotels and condominiums that exist in many settings, but can attract more patronage with waterfront amenities.

One last point is the unavoidable issue of the choice between using waterfront property for private development or using it for public open space. Private development can generate tax revenues for the city and may draw more people to the waterfront (e.g., a festival marketplace). But private developments such as hotels, housing units, and restaurants may block public access to water, and according to Beauregard (1986: 183 – 98) they also increase the amount of "privatised public space".

- **Office Development**

Office development support downtown revitalisation by serving as feeders to other stores and restaurants, and they form the building blocks of the downtown skyline that proclaims a modern corporate city. According to Levine, Frieden and Sagalyn (1989: 145 - 56) the office sector is the focus of the “corporate centre approach” to redeveloping downtowns, the goal of which is to transform downtowns into centres of financial, administrative, and professional services.

This approach reaches out to young, well-educated professionals, convention attendees, and tourists, seeking to locate an abundance of office workers downtown and also to draw many business visitors and clients to use downtown hotels, shops, and restaurants. One consequence of this approach is an increase in downtown mixed-use megastructures, that is, office towers combined with retail malls or hotels (Robertson, 1995: 433).

- **Special Activity Generators**

Special activity generators – convention centres, arenas, and stadiums – are large facilities capable of drawing large numbers of visitors, many from outside the metropolitan area, into the downtown. Carmon (1997: 135) refers to flagship projects in her assessment of special activity generators as means of urban attraction. This strategy has three objectives. The first aim towards creating a facility that produces spillover benefits: the many visitors at the convention centre or sporting event will spend time at nearby hotels, restaurants, stores, tourist attractions, and will also enliven downtown streets in the evening and on weekends. Secondly, the facility should stimulate new construction: a new hotel complex would be built in conjunction with the special activity centre. Third, the facility can be located where it may revitalise a blighted area.

The growing number of conventions, conferences, workshops, and trade shows in the United States has prompted cities all over the world to construct convention centres. Most convention centres are located downtown, for proximity to hotels and restaurants, visibility, and accessibility. Convention centres, in contrast to sports arenas and stadiums, can schedule events throughout the year. A common problem, however, is the public cost of convention centres; even successful ones rarely pay for themselves. Another problem: when not in use, it sits in the downtown as dead space (Robertson, 1995: 434).

- **Transportation Enhancement**

One of the most common responses relating to problems associated with downtowns is an inadequate transportation system. One response cites the effort to get around downtown; keeping in mind that many people are comparing downtown to the traffic-free environment inside a suburban mall. The pedestrianisation strategy addresses this problem. The other response emphasises problems in reaching downtown, which include travel time, inconvenience, traffic congestion, safety anxieties, and parking. This strategy tries to counter these problems (Robertson, 1995: 434).

Many cities try to improve downtown accessibility through use of mass transit. The relatively high densities of many downtowns still suit mass transit nicely. These days, few downtowns are adding highway capacity, but many are trying to improve the flow of traffic on already existing roads. Methods include 1) creating high-occupancy lanes on approach highways, which cars with only one occupant cannot use, 2) designing emergency systems to clear downtown roads and highways of disabled vehicles more quickly, and 3) applying traffic engineering techniques such as signalisation, turn lanes, and one-way streets. The biggest issue for downtowns is still parking. How much should be provided? How much should be charged? Where should parking be located? And what form should it take on (ramp, surface lot, and public versus private) (Robertson, 1995: 434)?

2.5.4 Other Downtown Redevelopment Strategies

Several other strategies deserve mention: housing, hotels, entertainment and cultural attractions. Adding to the downtown, housing stock provides patrons for downtown businesses, makes working downtown more appealing, adds activity to downtown streets on evenings and weekends, and creates a greater sense of security. New hotels appear when downtowns invest in special activity facilities, to accommodate the sports fans and the conventioners. Entertainment traditionally has drawn people downtown, so many cities have attempted to revitalise this function by restoring old theatres, adding new attractions (i. e., aquariums, casinos, movie theatres, and arenas), and promoting downtown's restaurants and nightlife. Certain forms of entertainment – museums, libraries, and theatres – bring people downtown for education as well as entertainment (Robertson, 1995: 434 – 5). According to Carmon (1997: 135) third generation (the 1990s) urban regeneration were characterised by central city revitalisation and a more businesslike approach to urban redevelopment. The third generation approach, with its emphasis on economic development, is related both to the reduction in public involvement and to an unexpected change in the spontaneous

development of large city centres. The various strategies of the third generation can be divided into two main groups: *public-individual partnerships* and *public-private partnerships*. City Improvement Districts as well as Gentrification also forms part of downtown redevelopment strategies.

- **City Improvement Districts**

According to Turok (2001: 2349 – 2377) City Improvement Districts were being set up in Cape Town to improve the competitiveness of established business districts by providing improved local management and marketing including security, street cleaning, parking, information and related services. They are funded by a top-up levy of some 10% on local rates. The Central Business District City Improvement District has a rather narrow and defensive agenda – rather than a positive development one – in seeking to prevent further office decentralisation and to ring-fence council taxes within the city centre and redistribution to poorer parts of the city.

- **Gentrification**

The term was coined by Glass (1964: 15 – 17) to describe a process by which low-income neighbourhoods were gradually invaded by middle-class households. It started with a myriad of small investors, mostly educated individuals who bought and renovated property in older, rundown big city centres. Is gentrification good or bad? The answer depends on whose point of view is considered. It is usually good for the gentrifiers who bought property that can appreciate rapidly. It is good for the local authorities that gain new tax payers and partial revitalisation of deteriorated central areas. It seems however to be bad from the point of view of incumbent local residents. The rising housing costs and the new expensive shops and services made the gentrification neighbourhoods too expensive for their incumbent residents.

Although the following section discussed the different

A very thorough description of the urban regeneration theory has been given but this process also involves role-players and stakeholders from both the public and private sector. These people, manpower and the institutions they represent are part of the urban regeneration process as they are the tools, which are responsible for the actual creation and physical upbringing of these different projects. They also create and partake in the partnerships between the public and private sector that makes these urban regeneration projects a reality and financially possible. This calls for a short

discussion on the main actors taking part in the process of urban regeneration and urban redevelopment.

2.6 THE MAIN ACTORS

2.6.1 The Development Process

At its most simple, urban redevelopment and regeneration can be likened to any other industrial production process that involves the combination of various inputs in order to achieve an output or product. In the case of urban redevelopment, the product is a change of land use and/or a new or altered building in a process, which combines land, labour, materials and finance. However, in practice the process is complex, often taking place over a considerable time period. The end product is unique, either in terms of its physical characteristics and/or its location. No other process operates under such constant public attention (Barret et al, 1978: 12).

Within each stage, and across some or all of them, there are a variety of important actors, who each contributes to the outcome of the process and who may have very different perspectives and expectations. The actors are considered below in approximately the order they appear in the urban redevelopment process. Their importance varies from project to project and not all of them appear in every development scheme (Goodchild & Munton, 1985: 24).

2.6.2 The Main Actors in the Development/Regeneration Process

- **Landowners:** They may actively initiate development by a desire to sell and/or improve the value of their land. Massey and Catalano (1980: 202), in their study of land ownership, categorise ownership into three broad types, which are paraphrased here namely the traditional, industrial and financial.
- *Traditional landowners:* Traditional landowners include the church, landed aristocracy and gentry and the state.
- *Industrial landowners:* Industrial landowners own land incidental to their main purpose, which is some form of production or service provision. This includes a wide variety of types, including farmers, manufacturers, industrialists, extractive industries, retailers and a variety of service industries.

- *Financial landowners:* Financial landowners see their ownership as an investment like any other and may therefore be expected to co-operate with development if the return on their land is financially optimal.
- **Developers:** Private sector development companies come in a variety of forms and sizes from one-man-bands to multinationals. Their purpose is usually clear: to make a direct financial profit from the process of development – in the same way that any other private company operates, whatever their product (Myers, 1994:5).
- **Public sector and government agencies:** Due to central government policy, the public sector generally undertakes little direct development. Local authorities are primarily involved with developments for their own occupation or community use and the provision of infrastructure.
- **Planners:** Planners can be divided into two broad categories: politicians and professionals. The politicians, usually on the advice of their professional employees, are responsible for approving the development plans drawn up by the professionals in accordance with the policy laid down by them. The professionals are responsible for advising the politicians and administering the system.
- **Financial institutions:** Unless a development is financed entirely with a developer's own capital or that of a partner, then financial institutions, as providers of finance, have a very important role in the development process.
- **Building contractors:** Building contractors are employed by developers to construct the development scheme and their prime objective is direct financial gain.
- **Agents:** Commercial agents or estate agents (in the case of residential) may be instrumental in initiating the development process and/or bringing together some of the main actors in the process.
- **Professional team:** These include: Planning consultants, economic consultants, architects, quantity surveyors, engineers, project managers, attorneys and accountants.
- **Objectors:** The first may be purely 'amateurs' and self – interested neighbours of the proposed development. They are often referred to as NIMBY'S ('not in my back yard'). Where organised, they can achieve considerable obstruction to the progress of development proposals. The second category are the well-organised professional, permanent bodies at local, and national level like conservation, national heritage and other organisations taking great interest in important buildings and existing flora and fauna.
- **Occupiers:** Unless the occupier of a building is the developer or is known early in the process, then the occupier is not regarded as a main actor within the development process, as they are

often unknown until the development is complete and let/sold (Cadman & Topping, 1996: 11 – 23).

2.7 CONCLUSION

Urban regeneration theory provides the basis for the study of urban regeneration and redevelopment. Urban renewal evolved over a long period of time since the post-war era and different concepts, strategies and approaches were introduced along the way that certainly changed the way our major cities look today, especially central cities and business nodes. Countries like the United States and Britain introduced some of the major redevelopment strategies and certainly had a big influence on how cities like Cape Town approached urban redevelopment. Robertson (1995: 429 – 437) has provided us with some of the main downtown redevelopment strategies followed in the United States during the 1990s. Cape Town's approach to inner-city redevelopment certainly displayed a tendency to follow some of these redevelopment strategies such as pedestrianisation, waterfront developments, historic preservation, office developments and special activity generators.

Carmon (1997: 131 – 143) claimed however that this third generation approach to urban redevelopment (with its main focus on central city revitalisation and businesslike approach) could only be fulfilled by the presence of two main groups namely: public-individual partnerships and public-private partnerships. The City of Cape Town launched various redevelopment initiatives over the past decade and indeed some valuable partnerships have been formed between organisations like the Cape Town Metropolitan Council, the Cape Town Partnership and the Heritage Trust. The urban redevelopment process does include many stakeholders and actors from the public and private sector.

With this in mind and urban regeneration theory laying the basis for the study, it is important to understand how the City of Cape Town has developed in the post-war era and how it approached the urban challenges presented by the city itself. Planning law in South Africa had a great influence on the creation of the Apartheid City, which presented major urban redevelopment challenges in the post-apartheid era (since 1994). Thus it is important to assess the history of urban regeneration in South Africa and the City of Cape Town, looking at how the city evolved to present such great urban challenges in recent times (1994 – and onwards). What policy and projects led to our city presenting such huge urban challenges in recent times? Another important factor is assessing the

urban challenges facing South African cities like Cape Town as a result of past policy and projects. The following chapter will try to do just that. It is important to understand that the current urban redevelopment initiatives that were launched (over the past decade) by various cities around the country, not only just Cape Town, did not just fall out of the sky, but was caused by certain planning policy that created a certain urban environment not very conducive to quality urban living.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN CHALLENGES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is important to understand that urban development, urban renewal and later urban regeneration were guided and steered by planning laws. And out of these planning laws and urban development arise some serious urban challenges facing our cities today. South Africa and South African cities were no different than any other major country and city in the world. South African planning laws led to the construction of the Apartheid city, the forcible removals of low income earners out of their established neighbourhoods, for example District Six; and these planning laws led to urban decay in the inner city, a loss of employment and higher crime rates. According to Van Wyk (1999: 5) in South Africa's own unique context, planning was essentially also a device to segregate races hence the term apartheid planning. Planning was effectively meant for the white population and areas only, and the effectiveness of all past planning measures can be seriously questioned. In all this presented South African cities with huge urban challenges especially over the last two to three decades. Now new planning law and urban regeneration projects directed at eradicating some of these fundamental urban problems are addressing some of these major urban challenges presented by our cities.

Thus a review of past planning laws and the urban challenges that arise from these planning laws will give an clear understanding of the aim of urban regeneration as a whole in addressing some of these fundamental urban problems, especially in the economic hearts and previously marginalised areas of the city. This will give the background to the rise of urban regeneration. Current planning laws and the current legislative and policy context will be discussed in the following chapter. This will sketch the new approach and its aims with regards to urban regeneration.

For the sake of clarity it is best to give just a clear indication of what is meant by planning law. According to Van Wyk (1999: 5) the term planning law is, within the South African context, a very young discipline. According to Rabie (1976: 54) different approaches to providing a definition exist. The best approach should be a contextual one. Thus according to Van Wyk (1999: 5) planning law can be defined as *“that area of the law which provides for the creation, implementation and management of a sustainable planning process to regulate land-use, with the*

purpose of ensuring the health, safety and welfare of society as a whole and taking into account environmental factors". Van Wyk (1999: 5) proclaims this definition cannot be a hard-and-fast one since the parameters of this emerging discipline is still evolving.

3.2 SOUTH AFRICA

Until 1947, South Africa followed the English example in planning. First it employed restrictive covenants to regulate land use from very early on, going so far as to apply English court decisions to the South African situation. Notable is *Elliston v Reacher*, according to Van Wyk (1999: 85), which laid down the requirements for determining whether or not a restrictive covenant is enforceable. This decision is still applied by our courts. Notably, the earliest town-planning ordinances in South Africa showed remarkable kingship to its 1925 and 1932 English town-planning counterparts. The period commencing with the discovery of diamonds in 1867 near Kimberley saw chaotic circumstances develop in the mining towns. As development took place so too did migration to the towns of both white and black persons. It was mainly as a result of this situation that the introduction of restrictive covenants, in particular those with racial bias, occurred more regularly around the 1880s. This was followed by restrictive covenants that controlled use and density were inserted into title deeds of property and registered (Van Wyk, 1999: 85).

Wherever rapid growth and industrial development took place, the result was that areas of mixed use developed. Areas for residential development were spoilt and property values were detrimentally affected. According to Van der Merwe (1983: 284 – 295) other uses encroached on residential areas because of the high value of the land in the established business centres. Vacant land and poor properties in the residential areas where property values had dropped were put to business or industrial use. Profit seeking, speculation and poor subdivision was at the order of the day. In the light of these developments as well as the developments overseas, a procedure arose by which use or zoning restrictions was applied to land.

In this way early town planning in South Africa was effected through the insertion of restrictive covenants, initially by township owners and later by local, provincial and state authorities. According to Strauss (1986: 18) the employment of restrictive covenants to limit certain specified uses became progressively more inadequate, as their rigidity could no longer accommodate the problems which arose in the towns resulting from a greater variety in the use of land. Legislative enactment followed to control town planning.

3.3 APARTHEID PLANNING

Davenport and Hunt (1987: 119 – 38) argue that the position with regards to the use and occupation of land by black persons and land-use planning for black persons have been on an entirely different footing from that than whites, throughout South African history. Specific areas were set aside for blacks in terms of legislation applicable only to those areas. Van Reenen (1962: 17 – 31) and Venter (1984: 21 – 29) claims that land-use planning in so-called black areas were a complex subject. According to them the myriad of policy documents and the numerous statutory enactment's relating to the different categories of black areas made this topic somewhat difficult to grasp. The early settlers had introduced the idea that persons of colour could not be treated on an equal footing with whites into South Africa. According to Floyd (1943: 41 – 42) one of the earliest forms of racial discrimination in land-use was by means of restrictive covenants barring persons of colour from using or occupying land. According to Van Reenen (1962: 17 – 31) most of the new laws were subsequently consolidated into the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966. Black land tenure was traditionally divided into rural and urban. The distinction was technical and peculiar to land occupied by or set-aside for black people. 'Rural' essentially applied to land governed by the Land Acts – the Black Land Act 27 of 1913 and the Development Trust and Land Act 18 of 1936 – applicable to the so-called 13% of South Africa belonging to black people. On the other hand, 'urban', as relating to black people, also applied in areas which, in the usual sense of the word, would be regarded as rural (Van Wyk, 1999: 100 – 101).

Both the English heritage and the apartheid measures have had a profound effect on South African planning law. Many laws have become deeply entrenched in the system, but since 1994 much-needed transformation in the land-use management system have taken place. But out of these planning laws something physical, with socio-economic, cultural and environmental attributes, were created that presented one of the greatest urban challenges to modern day South African cities: the apartheid city. Modern day urban regeneration is only a small tool trying to address the urban challenges presented by such a city. But first the apartheid city.

3.4 THE APARTHEID CITY: AN URBAN CHALLENGE

Apartheid planning at the national level was reinforced by local initiatives, which connived to keep races separate. Apartheid created several cities side by side within the South African urban areas. Different local authorities, also organised along racial lines governed these urban areas. Segregation

within urban areas was achieved largely through the control over land resources and spatial relations. The process of planning itself was a crucial tool, which was used to achieve apartheid objectives. The ownership, use and distribution of land in particular enabled the apartheid city to develop in as segregated manner as it did. The features of a typical apartheid city according to Planact (1997: 6) were:

- Racial segregation of residential areas.
- Buffer zones between residential areas.
- Racial segregation of amenities.
- Separation of the poor from social facilities.
- Informal settlements on the urban fringe.
- Urban sprawl.

These characteristics of the Apartheid City will pose special challenges for post apartheid urban reconstruction. **Figure 3.1** presents the Apartheid City structure.

3.5 RECONSTRUCTING THE APARTHEID CITY

The vision of a smooth post-apartheid transition from a segregated to an integrated city will not be realised simply through the removal of apartheid legislation and controls. The legacy of apartheid had left an indelible, structural mark on South African cities. Removing the features of the Apartheid City will require a comprehensive reconstruction effort, which should be aimed at physically, socially and economically integrating city. Realising this dream of an integrated city will be made more difficult by other urban problems, which are not unique to South African cities (Planact, 1997: 12). Cities throughout the world face the following urban challenges:

- The urban population will increase dramatically through natural increase and migration from rural areas.
- The population boom will strain existing infrastructural capacity and result in increased demand for services.
- An increased number of people living in the city will also affect land use patterns and availability.
- Poverty and unemployment within the city is likely to increase.
- The poor will not be able to afford proper shelter, thereby exacerbating the problems of homelessness, overcrowding and informal urbanisation.

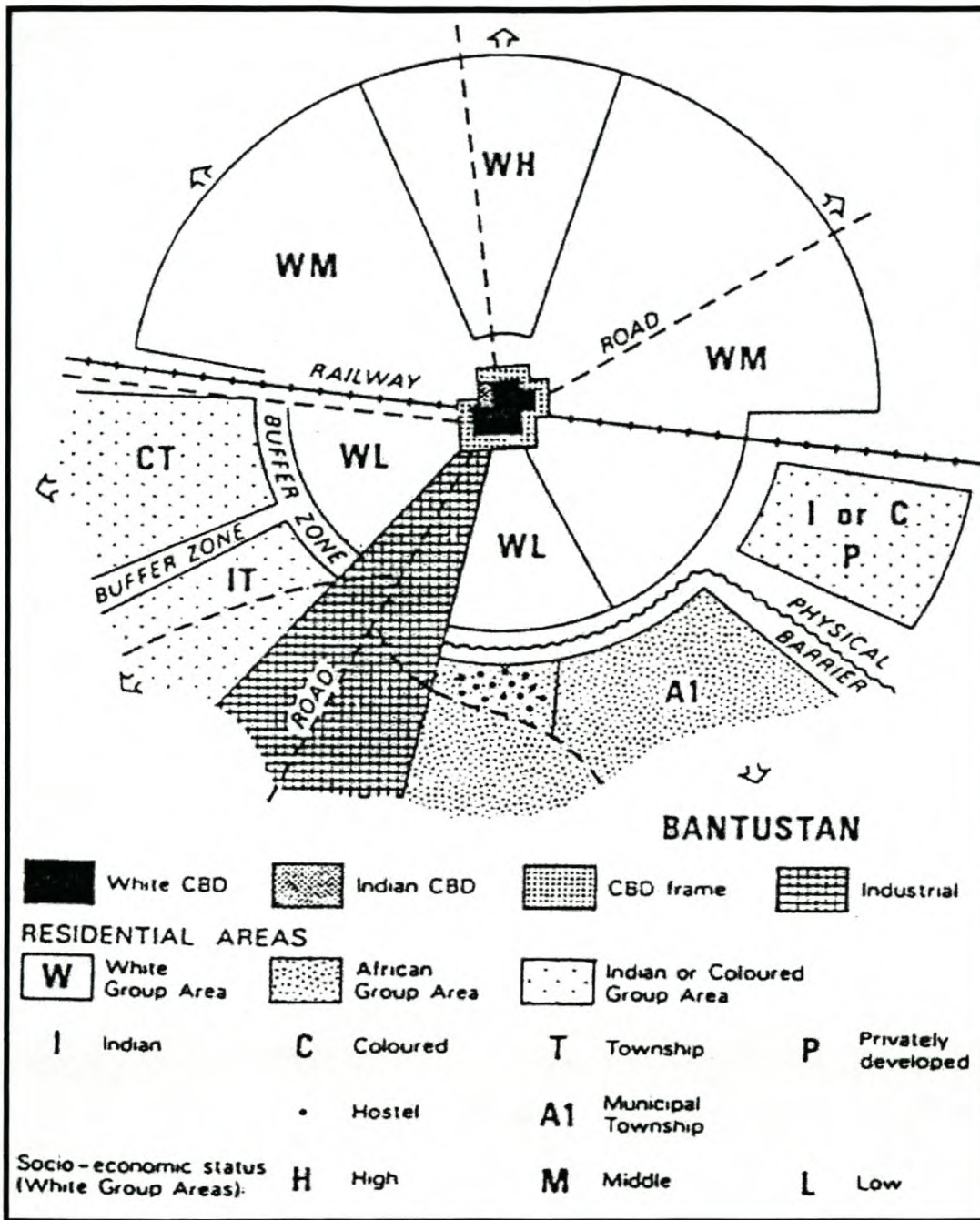


Figure 3.1 The Apartheid City Structure

Source: Davies, 1976; Simon, 1989

- A range of health and environmental problems will accompany all the factors mentioned above.
- The mushrooming of informal settlements will affect the ability of the government to plan properly (Planact, 1997: 12).

It must however be emphasised that urban renewal aimed at the inner-city will not affect the urban challenges presented by the Apartheid City. Every different redevelopment project is aimed at a

specific area, node or activity corridor and may fail in another area. The Wetton-Landsdowne Corridor Programme urban renewal project represents a case study, which was launched specifically at addressing some of the urban challenges presented by the Apartheid City. The Convention Centre which was built in the Central City was not aimed, as a redevelopment project, at eradicating Apartheid City urban challenges. It specifically has an economic focus and was aimed at regeneration in the Central City. More of this will be discussed in later chapters. A big part of the reconstruction of the Apartheid City, and the reconstruction and redevelopment of a few major South African cities, will take place through urban regeneration initiatives aimed at the following:

- **The Renewal of the Central Business District, Inner City and Business Nodes/or Activity Corridors**

Many cities in South Africa have experienced the problem of inner city decline and especially Central Business District decline. This could be largely attributed to suburbanisation (which sees business leaving the inner city for peripheral suburbs). This has been accentuated by growing levels of crime in the city. Declining Central Business Districts are often accompanied by deteriorating conditions in the inner city. Renewing the Central Business District and inner city requires a multi-pronged strategy. Johannesburg's Inner City Renewal Programme provides a good example of such a strategy. The programme is driven by a partnership between local, provincial and national government, as well as business, communities and labour. It targets both the Central Business District and the inner city (particular high-density residential areas like Jeppestown, Mayfair and Yeoville).

The Johannesburg Inner City Renewal Programme looks at:

- The upgrading of capital infrastructure investment (e.g. Park City).
- The improvement of the public environment, through improved delivering of water supply, cleansing and parks.
- Improving the present business districts and encouraging especially private sector investment and public-private partnerships aimed at economic and social development (Planact, 1997: 14).

The City of Cape Town launched a similar initiative namely “The Cape Town Central City Development Framework Draft”, aimed at creating “A People’s Place” (City of Cape Town, 2002). Some of the key focus points concerning regeneration are:

- The city centre must be a priority for city leadership, i.e. there must be business and political commitment to its development and regeneration. This manifested itself particularly in the consistent establishment of public-private partnerships leading, directing and managing the redevelopment process.
- The multi-use of street space, allowing different activities to occur throughout the day, permitting traffic.
- The establishment of new and improved amenities and the creation of people’s attractions, such as cultural activities, major sport and entertainment venues.
- The recycling of old buildings; their re-use and preservation (Cape Town Central City Development Framework, 2002: 2 – 1).

These urban regeneration interventions also have strong regulatory aspects, including the control of mini bus taxis, street and informal trading, overcrowding and so forth. But this regeneration will not only be focused on physical development but human development, the development of social amenities, like sports facilities and community empowerment, because of previous marginalisation. It will also focus strongly on sustainable development and environmental concerns.

3.6 OTHER URBAN CHALLENGES

According to Dewar & Todeschini (1999: 1 – 21) rapid urbanisation is one of the key issues in most developing countries, and South Africa is no exception. Rapid population growth, together with increasing shifts towards urban rather than rural residence, is resulting in unprecedented growth of the major metropolitan areas and secondary cities. The management of this growth as well as creating liveable urban places, in order to achieve positive urban outcomes are matters of utmost national importance. According to Dewar & Uytenbogaardt (1991: 10) South African cities are currently experiencing very rapid growth and change. These dynamics, in turn, are generating considerable thought and debate on economic, social, political and cultural fronts about the developmental path that cities should adopt. The majority of growth inevitably occurs around the four major metropolitan areas (the Pretoria – Witwatersrand – Vereeniging area, Cape Town,

Durban – Pinetown, and Port – Elizabeth – Uitenhage) which are growing at a much faster rate than smaller urban and rural settlements.

But the majority of this urban explosion is occurring among the poorest people therefore an increasing level of poverty accompanied this dynamic urban growth. This is affecting the way our cities are shaped and the physical form cities adopt. But still, inner city physical and social environment are being shaped according to these occurrences and the effect is not a positive one. A crucial question is: what qualities should be encapsulated within our cities, especially the city centres (the economic and social heart) to ensure that qualitative rich, efficient and socially supportive environments emerge and are enhanced over time? Urban environments outline any one generation of uses: they represent an historical legacy to succeeding generations, which, in reality, is extremely unlikely to be destroyed. Options open to future generations will be profoundly affected by decisions made in the immediate future (Dewar & Uytendogaardt, 1991: 10).

3.7 URBAN MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE

From an urban management perspective, there are four sets of needs according to Dewar & Uytendogaardt (1991: 16 – 18) which are particularly important and which need to inform fundamentally the management of growth. The city fulfils in these needs and the way in which the city and inner city are being shaped and formed will determine its ability to fulfil such needs.

- **Urban Generation**

People come to cities in order to experience the economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities and facilities, which can be generated through the physical agglomeration of large numbers of people. Planact (1997: 15) argues that parks, sports facilities and so forth are essential to improving the living standards of people. Urbanisation demands, and indeed is predicated on, increasing levels of specialisation and diversity and these qualities in turn can only exist in the presence of large thresholds of support. However, the ability of an urban system to generate these opportunities is not related solely to its demographic size: it is profoundly affected by the way in which the city is structured and made. Generative capacity must be maximised and is an essential part of the urban management task. Of particular importance is the need to generate opportunities for small-scale, self-generated economic activity, but at the same time existing economies and private sector partnerships need to be strengthened. High levels of poverty and unemployment give

people no option but to seek survival through self-generated employment, usually in the so-called “informal sector”. People, business, private – and public sector must be allowed sufficient freedom to manoeuvre in order to express their own ingenuity and creativity (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1991: 16).

- **Access**

It is little use generating opportunities if access is limited to a very limited number of people. All urban inhabitants should enjoy relatively easy and equitable access to urban opportunities. When ease of access is reduced it reflects a fundamental problem of urban form. Form becomes impositionary: it demands the use of time and personal resources in ways, which do not reflect the genuine choices of people. Planact (1997: 15) states that a city that works well is one where the inhabitants can easily get to the places they want to go, especially to their work places and their homes. The marginal cost of overcoming access-restricting barriers, of which distance is one, for the more wealthy is low while the equivalent cost to the poor, who perpetually sit on a knife-edge of critical trade-off, is very high. For example: an efficient, viable and co-ordinate public transport system right into the heart of the city is a pre-requisite, it is not an option (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1991: 16 - 17).

- **Promotion of Collective Activities and Contact**

According to Planact (1997: 15) the merging of formal and informal settlements is a comprehensive strategy that needs to be devised in order to bring informal settlements in to the mainstream and make them part of the city. The very motor of urban development is innovation and diversification and these, in turn, are dependent upon exposure, social interaction and communication. The places of greatest interaction in cities are the places of greatest opportunity, for instance: the Central Business District. The way in which these urban environments are built can either promote or retard both formal and informal interaction and communication, which could determine the outcome of economic ventures. The complex social networks, which take root in urban areas, many of which have a defined geographic focus, like the Central Business District, are of profound significance. They provide the first, and frequently, the only form of social security and insurance; they are fundamental in processes of urban socialisation; and they radically affect the quality of urban dwellers. Urban structure (inner-city structure) can facilitate the strengthening of these ties or, in extreme cases, can shatter them (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1991: 16 - 17).

- **Individual Needs**

According to Dewar & Uytenbogaardt (1991: 16 – 18) certain individual needs must be met for people to engage fruitfully in urban life these include:

- physical needs (nutrition, health, safety).
- social needs (opportunities for social interaction and community ties).
- psychological needs (security in all its forms, identity, a sense of belonging and a sense of individuals being able to affect their own destinies).
- sensory needs (exposure to stimulatory, learning environments) and
- economic needs (employment, the development of entrepreneurial skills).

Planact (1997: 15) argues that because of past marginalisation, communities (especially the poor) must claim ownership of the city and therefore redevelopment and regeneration interventions should also identify and target the marginalised and involve them in projects. Regeneration projects should also address their needs. The most fundamental task of urban management in South Africa is to create qualities of “city” as opposed to suburbia: the latter model is heavily dependent on private means and the use of expensive, resource-wasteful technologies (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1991: 17 - 18).

3.8 STRATEGIC CHALLENGES FACING CAPE TOWN

Historically, Greater Cape Town has had a more centralised physical form than other cities in South Africa. Radial transport routes fed high volumes of people and goods into the dominant Central Business District and adjacent areas, which still accommodate the largest concentration of economic activity and employment. Old, relatively wealthy suburbs extend along two rail and road corridors to the south and north-east of the Central Business District (Turok & Watson, 2001: 120).

The economic geography of the city is changing to a more dispersed and decentralised structure. A net shift in office and retail activities is occurring from the city core to suburban centres and to new office and retail parks along the major freeways. Century City is a striking example of a new exclusive style of development emerging in South African cities. It is on an unprecedented scale (a 250 hectare site and R3 billion plus development cost), and should ultimately comprise nearly a million square metres of retail and office floorspace, 3700 high income residential units, 2500 hotel rooms, a conference centre, theatre, theme park, multiplex cinema and other leisure and

entertainment facilities. At such a scale it represents a serious threat to central Cape Town as an office location, and to the shopping malls at the Waterfront and the inner city self (Marks and Bezzoli, 2000: 33). They threaten the Central Business District and older suburban centres because they combine office, retail, residential and leisure uses in a controlled, high amenity environment. Meanwhile, the functions of the city centre are shifting towards tourism and entertainment activities, with retailing geared towards lower income consumers (Turok & Watson, 2001: 120).

The decentralisation of industrial and commercial activity complicates the city's monocentric structure but does nothing to alter the stark contrasts between rich and poor areas. The vast majority of private sector investment and job growth is occurring in or close to prosperous suburbs in the north and west of the city. These expanding employment centres are also less well served by the commuter rail and bus network than the Central Business District (Turok & Watson, 2001: 121).

Figure 3.2 shows the geography of investment in major industrial, office, retail and leisure projects completed during the period 1999 – 2001 or in the pipeline within the Central Business District, inner city and surrounding areas. According to WESGRO (2000: 18) it is drawn from a substantial base of private sector investment in property held by the development agency. It indicates the strength of selected economic centres, mainly Tyger Valley and Milnerton in the northern suburbs, the Waterfront and Central Business District in central Cape Town, and Claremont in the southern suburbs. Overall, decentralisation appears to be accelerating, reflected in disproportionate property investment in outlying centres. Rode, (2000: 2) argues that for example, over the last five years there has been nearly five times as much new office development in decentralised nodes as in the Central Business District.

The trends in major property development reflect a combination of market forces and institutional practices. They create a cumulative process of investment and development in the well-off areas, as growth feeds upon itself. In addition, the incomes of the most qualified sections of the labour force have been rising as a result of skill shortages created by shifts in the economic structure towards financial services, ICT industries and professional and managerial occupations. Wealthy neighbourhoods attract retail development and consumer services because of the strength of effective demand and customer's desire for convenience. In addition, many firms owned by, and employing, people living in these suburbs have located there in order to reduce the time and cost of commuting to the Central Business District (Turok & Watson, 2001: 122).

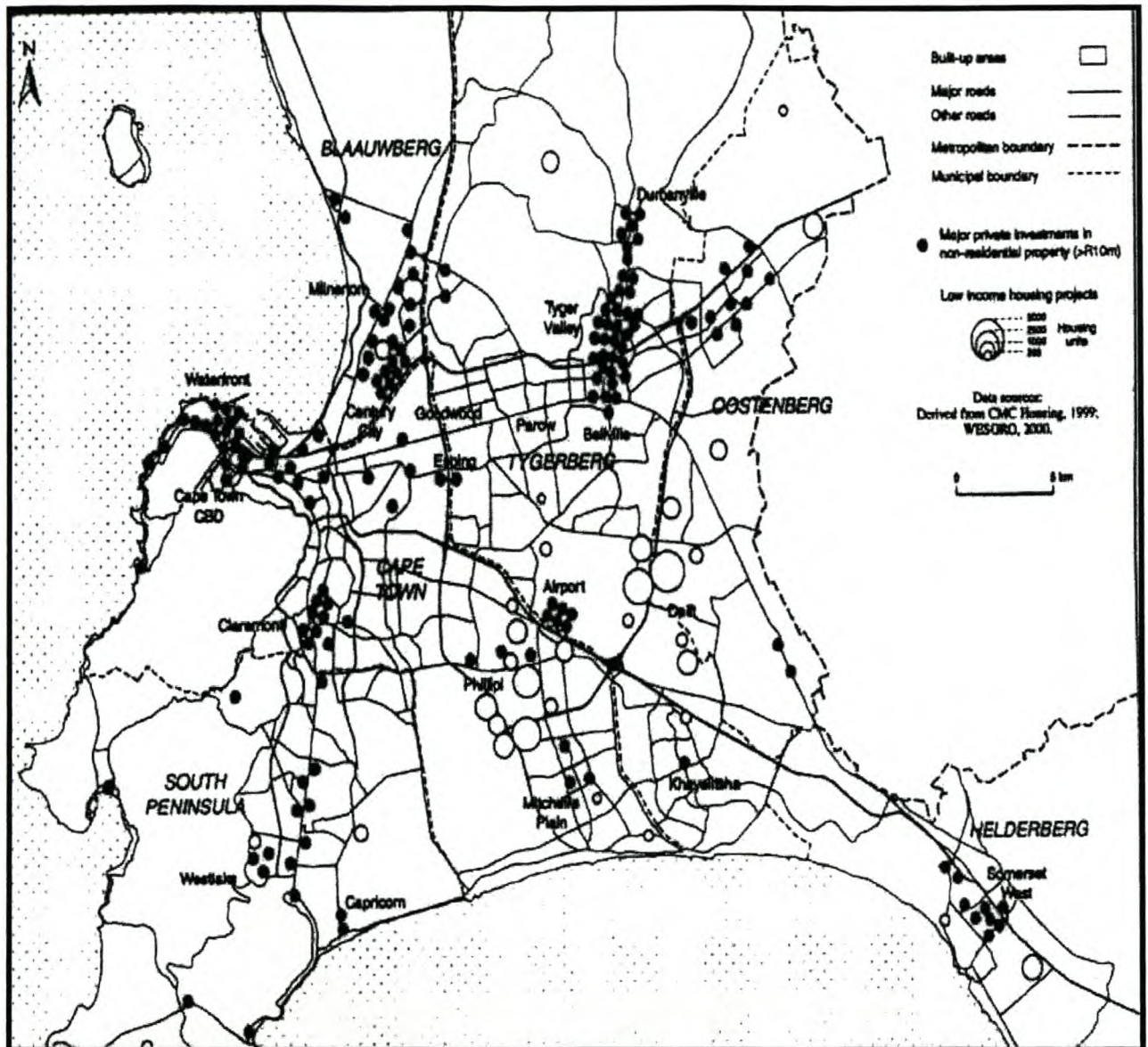


Figure 3.2 Geography of investment in major industrial, retail, office and leisure projects during the period 1999 – 2002

Source: WESGRO, 2000

There are also environmental factors tending to push businesses out of older centres. They include perceptions of deteriorating security, difficulties with parking, traffic congestion and litter. These in turn have influenced the social and physical character of the older centres and high streets and there has been a marked shift downmarket in some of these areas. Finally, there are differences in the quality and vintage of the building stock and infrastructure across the city. Most high street and Central Business District buildings are older than those in the decentralised nodes, and so less able to meet the requirements of modern ICT and work processes. It is also fashionable for businesses to seek to boost their corporate image by occupying their own premises, rather than leasing space in a

large buildings downtown. City centre property owners seem to have been lax about refurbishing older buildings and the local authority has been criticised for neglecting local services, so the Central Business District has become a less attractive business location over the last decade. Decentralised centres have benefited from active management and modern design, infrastructure and access arrangements. This last point touches on the importance of property supply. Financial institutions and property companies shape the development process within a framework of land-use regulation. Developers make judgements about feasibility and location of projects, involving subjective assessments of risk and reward. They are inevitably affected by embedded beliefs, perceptions and fashions (Turok & Watson, 2001: 123).

According to the Municipal Spatial Development Framework Draft (1999: 2 – 6), there are at least three relevant dimensions to this. First, financial institutions mediate the response of developers to demand by providing investment and development funds. During the 1980s and early 1990s growth in savings and state restrictions on investment abroad created a surplus of funds in the country. Property was popular because of the belief that bricks and mortar was a safe investment. Decentralised development became fashionable and some institutions accelerated the trend by moving their own headquarters. Yet, by pouring funds into property they contributed to an over-supply and undermined the position of then city centres, including the buildings they owned themselves. Poor performance in the last few years has caused many to reduce their exposure to property and to invest more abroad; and they have become more cautious about funding new projects. Second, landowners and developers play a catalytic role. Land speculation and opportunistic development appear to have become more common in recent years. Some landowners have come under greater financial pressure to sell land surplus to their requirements. Uncertainty created by the hiatus in statutory plans for Cape Town has also given more scope for speculative land trading and re-zoning. Developers influence occupier behaviour through their design concepts and marketing activities. Decentralised business parks are the current fad and promotional materials play upon people's fears about crime and personal safety in the Central Business District (City of Cape Town, 1999: 6).

Third, local authorities have gone along with and even encouraged recent trends. They perceive the need to expand their own tax base by supporting development of any kind. Political rivalry between and within tiers of government has limited capacity to take a strategic view. Rising unemployment has meant that the promise of extra local jobs and taxes has weighed heavily in decisions to endorse major new commercial projects whatever their wider costs and consequences

for the functioning of the city. In many cases substantial subsidies have been provided through additional infrastructure and services. There has been no city – wide plan or framework to promote or regulate development in the interest of the entire city's people (City of Cape Town, 1999: 6).

3.9 CONCLUSION

South African cities still face some major urban challenges and priorities. Over the past decade some critical issues arise and only in the past few years have the major cities put policies and partnerships in place to start address these major issues. Cape Town, especially the Central Business District has been plagued by urban decay and the “people's” city has become a vague remembrance. The rebuilding process of Cape Town started about ten years ago, in 1993, with the “A Vision for Cape Town” conference that was held in Cape Town. The vision for Cape Town's future were underpinned by two important considerations: the city as an organic and functional entity, and the city as an artistic expression of the soul of its heterogeneous population. Urban regeneration started with a massive investment in property development (office, retail, tourist, commercial and entertainment) (Murley, 1994: 20). Critical developments were undertaken by various private and public partnerships to put new heart into the centre of Cape Town. An assessment of the path urban regeneration took in Cape Town, as part of the strategy to revive the heart of the Mother City is vital.

Chapter 3 gave an indication of the effect that past planning law had on the evolution of our major cities the City of Cape Town included. The Apartheid City was created and over the years, since the 1950s until recently (1990s and beyond), this urban environment started to present our cities with major urban challenges. The poor were marginalised, people were segregated on grounds of race, there were big divides between the workplace and residence, urban sprawl and low residential densities led to inner-city decline and the city didn't function as an entity. This paved the way for urban redevelopment and the strategies presented for urban redevelopment by people like Robertson (1995: 429 – 437) had a big influence on how urban regeneration was approach in South Africa and our major cities. So what happened? There was a new approach to urban regeneration and redevelopment as strategies for the eradication of the faults from the past. This approach meant a new development framework for urban renewal and the launch of new urban renewal programmes especially in previously disadvantaged communities. The focus of redevelopment did broaden. Chapter 4 puts this new urban redevelopment approach by the City of Cape Town in context.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXTUALISING URBAN REGENERATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A new urban development strategy aimed at the remaking of South African cities and towns just didn't grow out of anything. The UN – HABITAT Urban Management Programme was launched back in 1986. The Urban Management Programme develops and applies urban management knowledge in the fields of participatory urban governance, alleviation of urban poverty and urban environmental management, and facilitates the dissemination of this knowledge at the city, country, regional and global levels. The programme was launched in four phases, which will stretch over a period from 1986 – 2006 (UN-Habitat, 2002). These international strategies and documents influence and shape the approach of countries towards urban management and redevelopment. South Africa is no different and to understand South Africa's and, as in the case of this study, Cape Town's, approach to urban regeneration it is important to assess the current legislative and policy context with regards to urban management and specifically city redevelopment and urban regeneration.

4.2 THE NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT APPROACH WITH REGARDS TO URBAN REDEVELOPMENT AND URBAN REGENERATION

4.2.1 The Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity: 1995

With a new South Africa, and new government of national unity, emerging in 1994, an urban redevelopment strategy was launched in 1995, aiming at the remaking of South African towns and cities. One of the earliest documents to emerge on this topic was the "discussion document" on The Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity. Although this was not formal policy and only presented as a discussion document, it did lay down the foundations for future urban management policy documents, addressing issues such as urban redevelopment and urban regeneration like for example the: The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (RSA, 2001), The Green Paper on Development and Planning (RSA, 1999), The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) and The Urban Renewal Strategy (RSA, 2001).

The discussion document proposes that better performing urban areas are vital for alleviating poverty and creating a more equitable society. Cities hold the key to speeding up economic growth and enhancing South Africa's global competitiveness. The document's urban vision and strategic goals envision integrated centres, which will provide access to many physical and social resources. Some of the Urban Development Strategy (RSA, 1995: 9) strategic goals are:

- To create efficient and productive cities with less poverty and sustained by dynamic economies.
- To encourage affordable growth of local economies.
- To improve the quality of the urban environment

According to the Urban Development Strategy (RSA, 1995: 9) city centres are under strain facing the legacy of apartheid and in need of initiatives which involve the public and the private sector as well as key community interests. Economic challenges like the need to diversify (especially in smaller centres as well as strengths like concentrated and diversified economies, productive infrastructure on scale, and dynamic institutions and social networks present urban realities that need the necessary attention. The document also argues that there have to be links to rural and wider development, in other words urban development cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider national context.

Implementing this urban strategy involves integrating cities and managing urban growth. Key elements of this strategy will be:

- Comprehensive reform of the current urban transportation system.
- Sustainable environmental management.
- An serious investment in urban development that involves special presidential or integrated projects on urban renewal/regeneration which seek to fast-track and kick-start development in selected crisis and violence torn areas. The emphasis of these projects is on the integrated provision of infrastructure services, housing and community facilities. Job creation and capacity building must receive particular attention.
- Promoting urban economic development through assertive local economic development (LED) strategies to retain, expand or attract economic activity must be instituted
- Integrating cities and managing urban growth with a special focus on rebuilding the townships, create more jobs, housing and urban amenities through integrated development planning. The reduction of commuting distances between the workplace and residential areas must be achieved and public transport must be bettered (RSA, 1995: 10 – 11).

4.2.2 The White Paper on Local Government: 1998

According to this paper one of the main developmental outcomes of local government should be the creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas. The challenge in urban areas is the integration of towns and townships. Integration must ensure affordable mobility between work, home and recreation; the combat of crime, pollution and congestion; and the structuring of the built environment to facilitate the participation of disadvantaged groups in the social and economic life of the city. Thus urban municipalities should promote mixed-use and mixed-income development. Environmental sustainability is also a key challenge in both urban and rural settlements. Environmental issues should be included in planning processes. Specific measures should be laid down to promote Local Economic Development. All these effort would inevitably address the spatial distortions created by the legacy of apartheid in the spatial structures of our cities, towns and rural areas. These efforts will require redevelopment and regeneration initiatives of which some are already underway (RSA, 1998: 24 – 25).

4.2.3 The Green Paper on Planning and Development: 1999

The Green Paper on Planning and Development (RSA, 1999: 3) do not specifically focus on the issue of urban redevelopment or urban regeneration, but does have a chapter focusing on managing land development. According to this document managing the use and development of land has two main aspects:

- The management of the development of a vacant or open land, generally involving the improvement and sub-division of that land and the construction of buildings on it; and
- The management of ongoing changes to existing land use – this includes changes and activities carried out on land, the size and coverage of buildings and the density or intensity of land use.

The private sector will appropriately continue to be the major force in the development of land. While land management systems in South Africa remain incoherent, unclear, cumbersome and contradictory, the private sector cannot operate with certainty and assurance in the land market and is frequently able to develop land without any regard for the needs of the general public. In order to remedy this situation two requirements are essential. Firstly, The Development and Facilitation Act 67 of 1995 principles, as expressed in plans drawn up by local councils should be central to public consideration of development proposals. Secondly, an effective and efficient system must be

devised to provide certainty and security both to the private sector involved in land development as well as people affected by their developments (RSA, 1999: 45 – 46)

A very important concept that needs investigation is local economic development. This concept does feature in The Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity of 1995 and need to be analysed. It also has a valuable connection with urban renewal according to the Integrated Development Planning and Urban Renewal in Cape Town discussion document of 2002.

4.2.4 Local Economic Development

Local economic development forms a very important part of The Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity. The policy framework developed to promote Local Economic Development is being developed by the Local Economic Development Workgroup, which is housed within the Masakhane campaign. According to Rogerson (1995: 5) the appearance of Local Economic Development planning generally is prompted by the imperative either to tackle socio-economic problems or to manage economic restructuring processes. There is no simple Local Economic Development strategy, which is universally applicable. According to the National Business Initiative (1996: 3) each community needs to design its own unique programme of action as it explores and activates initiatives related to the following:

- Identifying comparative local advantages;
- Increasing the net number, quality and quantity of local jobs and
- Using existing resources more effectively.

According to the National Business Initiative (1996: 4) both South African and international experiences of Local Economic Development strategies demonstrate some broad and inter-related approaches that may be of value to a community, namely:

- Improving local infrastructure and service provision to enhance economic and employment opportunities;
- Helping existing local businesses to improve their productivity and market share;
- Supporting the development of new businesses;
- Attracting industry, business, investment and resources from outside the community and
- Marketing the community through initiatives, which enhance the appeal and image of the community to potential visitors.

According to the discussion document on Integrated Development Planning and Urban Renewal in Cape Town, compiled by the Provincial Development Council of the Western Cape (2002: 94 – 100) there is a very valuable connection between local economic development and urban renewal. According to the document formulating an effective metro wide urban renewal related economic development strategy requires focusing on the following elements:

- Investing in the fundamental assets and activities that will help feed productivity and innovation;
- Promoting dynamic industry networks that accelerate the pace of innovation and growth;
- Linking the inner city with the outer suburbs; reinvesting in the city's downtown and immediate neighbourhoods; and connecting urban residents with jobs;
- Promoting and supporting the informal economy and
- Dealing with the illicit/criminal economy.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Putting the City of Cape Town's new approach to urban regeneration and redevelopment in context is just the first part or the first step towards analysing Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration. Chapter 4 analysed only the first step in the process. The Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity (RSA, 1995), The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998) and The Green Paper on Planning and Development (RSA, 1999) gave some insight into this new approach to city redevelopment.

The following step is an in-depth investigation into Cape Town's approach towards urban redevelopment. Chapter 5 analyses the different development frameworks that address urban regeneration and redevelopment in the inner city as well as along activity corridors and other business nodes. Chapter 5 also present case studies of urban regeneration in the inner city as well as in the metropole. It must however be emphasised that not every urban renewal project presents success. What is important to realise is that the urban regeneration revolution in Cape Town didn't happen overnight but in phases as indicated in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

CAPE TOWN MUNICIPALITY'S APPROACH TO URBAN REGENERATION IN THE CBD AND OTHER BUSINESS NODES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

"A vision for Cape Town" was the topic of a conference held by the Cape Heritage Trust in co-operation with the Cape Environmental Trust at the Josephine Mill building during October 1993. The spirit of the conference was summed up by Cape Town's Deputy City Planner, Peter de Tolley: "City planning is too important to be left to the planners." A statement that at the time, threw the issue of Cape Town's potential and future development open to the citizens of Cape Town and a multiplicity of dreams and aspirations. In 1993 the vision for Cape Town's future was underpinned by two important considerations according to Murley (1994a: 20 – 23): the city as an organic and functional entity, and the city as an artistic expression of the soul of its heterogeneous population.

Key issues addressed at the 1993 conference included the need for environmental conservation, urban regeneration, the protection of cultural diversity and self-determination, and the preservation of the city as an aesthetic and functional whole. The erstwhile mayor of Cape Town, Clive Keegan, stressed that while the issues of conservation and development are seemingly at odds with one another, the distinction is an artificial one created by the legislative framework which at the time essentially separated interrelated areas from one another. This fragmented approach encouraged localised problem-solving techniques, which at the time did not take into account their wider ramifications, often at the expense of the city's greater well being.

According to Murley (1994a: 20 – 23) Peter de Tolley's paradigm for the management of growth and change represented a major step away from the schizophrenic methods of conventional town planning and management. He raised awareness that the issues of conservation and development should be held in dynamic balance, allowing the bipolar split to be transcended, thus attaining the desired integration necessary for management along holistic lines. Vanessa Watson, Director of the Urban Problems Research Unit at the University of Cape Town School of Architecture and Planning, introduced a cautionary note, when she warned that visions could be dangerous if inappropriate and misguided. She gave the example of the vision enhanced by the garden city model, which provided the apartheid government with the perfect means for separate development.

This vision for the City of Cape Town started about a decade ago and out of this vision and strategy for the redevelopment of Cape Town different development frameworks, policy objectives and urban development documents was created to redirect the way redevelopment should take for the future. Therefore a discussion of the development frameworks drafted since then with special regards to urban regeneration in business districts is important and will follow.

Although the following section discussed the different development frameworks for the City of Cape Town it must be emphasised that the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) has been compiled a few years ago in 1996. Since then there has been some governmental changes and other development frameworks and documents have been compiled. But the study chooses to focus on the documents in the following section because of a sure embeddedness in development framework. Some of the other documents that have been compiled include the: i) Draft Statutory Plan of 1998; ii) the Statutory MSDF April 1999 (but there is uncertainty over whether this was ever approved by the Province in terms of the Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO) and the iii) MSDF Handbook of 2000. For the sake of objectivity it must be mentioned that other development frameworks also had a influence on urban renewal framework, but this study focus only on a selected few.

5.2 DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORKS FOR THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

5.2.1 Introduction

The discussion and assessment of the different development frameworks for the City of Cape Town that will follow in this section will specifically look at the focus on urban regeneration and redevelopment. This section will also start to discuss the main theme of the study namely Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration in specifically business districts. The first document to be discussed will be the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) which is the overhead development framework of the whole metropolitan area launched in the year 2000 although it originated in 1991. The Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework handbook operates in parallel with and complementary to the MSDF Technical Report (April 1996) and the MSDF Statutory Plan.

5.2.2 The Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF): 1996

Introduction

The Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 8 – 9) originated in 1991. It is the product of a lengthy, inter-active and participatory process involving key metropolitan stakeholders, numerous government departments, local authorities, community representatives and the public. It originated from the need for co-ordinated responses to planning and development in the Cape Metropolitan Region (CMR). **Figure 5.1** presents the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework in context. It was initially developed under the auspices of the Western Cape Economic Development Forum and subsequently the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC). The main purpose of the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework is to guide the form and location of physical development in the Cape Metropolitan Region on a metropolitan scale. The framework is based on a defined vision of a well managed, integrated, metropolitan region in which development is intensified, integrated and sprawl-contained. The importance of the MSDF with regards to urban redevelopment and regeneration is that it:

- Provides a framework for co-ordinated action between the public, private and community sectors; and
- Provides the basis for the preparation of policies, programmes and development strategies at local and metropolitan levels.

Guidelines

The MSDF provides the guidelines for the local interpretation and application of the MSDF principles and spatial concepts. The MSDF's overall goal is a sustainable and equitable Cape Metropolitan Area. Some of its key strategies for reaching this goal, especially with regards to urban regeneration and redevelopment are:

- Activity corridors and nodes encourage the efficient and cost-effective provision of services.
- Focussed public and private investment that supports the creation of quality urban environments especially in previously deprived areas (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 6).

According to the MSDF handbook (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 8 – 9) planning and development should address the separation of work and residence, and the emphasis on private

transport in the Cape Metropolitan Area, by seeking to integrate urban areas. Strategies suggested by the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework with regards to urban regeneration are:

- Better linking of existing urban areas by means of public transport.
- Integration of vacant and under-utilised land into the urban system particularly sites close to the city centre and the corridors.

Planning and other competent authorities should seek to redress the unequal distribution of facilities and opportunities by:

- Directing a significant portion of investment into public infrastructure and social services in areas of greatest need. (The MSDF proposes the creation of a metropolitan node in Phillipi East, an area earmarked for higher-order public investment, which will then serve as a catalyst for private investment).
- Encouraging private investment in these areas.
- Strategic public transport investment and
- Especially important, the development of new and existing centres for economic growth and opportunities (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 9).

Thus planning and development work should seek to create quality urban environments that provide opportunities and preconditions for positive personal, social and economic development. A wide range of activities should be possible in such an urban environment, as opposed to the existence of separate housing, industrial, commercial and recreational areas.

Spatial concepts

The MSDF Technical Report introduces a number of spatial concepts, which are central to urban redevelopment and urban regeneration, such as urban nodes and activity corridors. According to the MSDF document an activity corridor is a linear zone of development flanking a public transport route. Public transport facilities, mixed land uses, and people are all focused here, and hence a strong relationship exists between the transportation route and the surrounding land uses. Three types of corridors are identified in the MSDF (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 13)

- **Mature activity corridors** already display most of the positive characteristics of activity corridors. Being well serviced in every respect, these corridors generally offer good opportunities for higher-density mixed-use development.

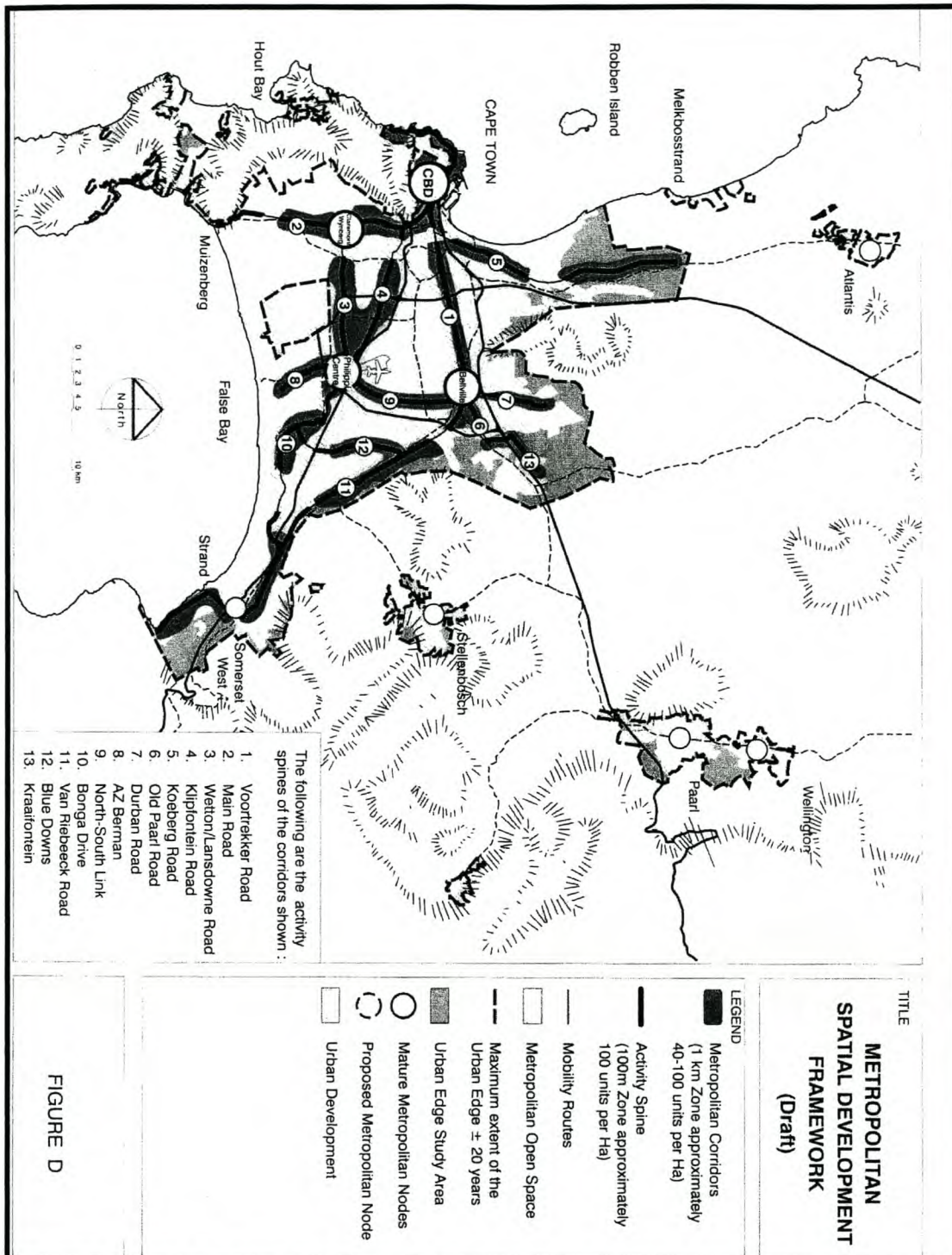


Figure 5.1 The Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework

Source: Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: xii

- **Incipient activity corridors** display substantial infrastructure and investment in the form of road, rail and/or mobility routes and other service infrastructure. Many of the preconditions

for their development as corridors are already in place, such as higher-order urban facilities and services, as well as employment opportunities.

- **Proposed activity corridors** refer to movement corridors which: connect public transport routes to either proposed or existing metropolitan nodes; display few of the characteristics of activity corridors and are perceived to have potential for development that will benefit the metropolitan region as a whole.

In all of these instances public investment needs to be targeted in order to create the necessary circumstances to attract and promote private sector investment. Urban regeneration plays an important role here.

5.2.3 The Wetton-Landsdowne Corridor Programme Report: 1997

The Wetton-Landsdowne-Phillipi Corridor is located within the Metropolitan Spatial Environment. It is approximately 15 kilometres long and an average of 3 kilometres wide, centred on the Wetton and Landsdowne Roads. The Corridor includes 16% of the Cape Town municipal area, the population of the Corridor is in the region of 400 000 people or 80 000 households. In the metropolitan and sub-metropolitan analysis, three major nodes were identified by the Spatial Plan for the Wetton-Landsdowne Corridor Programme as having significant development potential and opportunities. The long-term vision for the corridor, as illustrated in the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework, indicates a high intensity of development along the entire length of the Corridor with two strong nodes at either end. Developmental and urban regeneration efforts are focused on the three main nodes. These nodes are Wynberg, a central node and Phillipi. The general idea is that as these nodes develop as strong pressure points, the collective developmental momentum will over time eventually spread along the entire length of the Corridor. The analysis shows that the major North South routes crossing Wetton and Landsdowne Roads will continue to carry significant traffic through the area and the proposed nodes provide the opportunity to capitalise on the potential this movement will create (City of Cape Town, 1997: 51).

The Wetton-Landsdowne Corridor should be seen as a programme which will evolve over time. The Corridor will not consist of one single project, which will be built and be finished with. It is more a programme made up of various individual projects, which collectively will form a corridor. The concept furthermore relies on the clustering and concentration of a variety of facilities and land uses in a co-ordinated way. Co-ordination of these various components is important to ensure that they work together and support and sustain each other (City of Cape Town, 1997: 49).

A further aspect of the corridor is that it will develop over time. At first a few projects which will eventually contribute to the Corridor will be (and are being) implemented. As time goes by, more and more projects will be undertaken and completed. As more projects are undertaken, the relationships between these projects and how they contribute to form a corridor will become clearer. The development of a corridor is very much like building a picture with tiles. Tiles of various colours represent the various projects which can be undertaken. In order to build a picture, there must be an overall concept (the spatial plan) and the building process must be co-ordinated so that there can be sureness that a legible picture will emerge at the end of the process. As the first few blocks are put in place, there is as yet no clear pattern. Only when sufficient blocks have been put in place will a clear picture begin to emerge. The “Corridor” is therefore not one thing that will be built. The Corridor will eventually be all those individual projects and developments grouped together, and by being grouped in a co-ordinated way, they will form the (City of Cape Town, 1997: 49).

5.2.4 City of Cape Town Draft Municipal Spatial Development Framework: 1999

- **Introduction**

Work on the Draft Muni-SDF started in November 1998. A discussion document, the *Argument and Key Principles*, presenting an approach to the task of formulating the Draft Muni-SDF, appeared in March 1999. The Draft Muni-SDF superseded the *Argument and Key Principles*, has refined the approach and principles contained within it, and also identifies specific projects, programmes and management tools. As a spatial planning initiative, it obviously approaches the city’s development from a spatial perspective. The spatial component as a whole is therefore more resolved than recommendations about associated, but non-spatial issues.

- **The city today and how it should be**

According to the City of Cape Town Municipality Draft Muni-SDF (1999: 8 – 9) the planning which has occurred in Cape Town over the past few decades has a number of overriding characteristics:

- It has largely been control-dominated, rather than proactive.

- It has been dominated by ideas of modernism, characterised by: an emphasis on the separation of activities, a conception of the free-standing building surrounded by private space as the basic building block of settlements, and virtual exclusion of social and environmental factors.
- The concepts of modernism – particularly the concern with separation and the concept of the neighbourhood unit – fitted in neatly with apartheid policy. In this process, public investment has been strongly skewed in favour of a minority.
- It is based on the line-function separation of urban management activities and functions. Urban management and planning have largely occurred on a piecemeal, project-based and line-function basis, with different line-functions or activities often promoting different agendas in isolation from each other. In other words there has been little co-ordination and the elements of public investment, which provide a structuring framework for the city, often fail to support each other.

Some of the dominant spatial patterns that have resulted from these influences include:

- Fragmented, discrete and inwardly looking cells of development reinforced by the barrier effect of major urban infrastructure such as freeways and railway lines.
 - Social facilities embedded in specific local housing areas, rather than being located in places accessible to people travelling by public transport.
 - The separation of people and activities.
 - An incoherent system of open space. Open space normally comprises what is left over from space-extensive urban development projects, rather than being a system defined and constructed space designed to positively contribute to people's lives (City of Cape Town, 1999: 9).
-
- **The Muni-SDF: The Spatial Framework**

The framework is driven by a core concept for remaking the city over time to achieve greater equity and integration. This concept relates to allowing people much more equitable access to the benefits of the city, broadly defined as the natural resource base and the urban resource base. Both involve resource management or conservation and creative actions, in line with the investment needs of the city. The core concept is then translated into specific concepts and proposals for the spatial organisation of elements that make up the city's public investment structure. These elements are

green space, movement, public space and places, social facilities, economic infrastructure, publicly assisted housing, utility services, and emergency services (City of Cape Town, 1999: 20).

Central to the framework, therefore, are the interrelated concerns of increasing convenience within walking distance and increasing access to public transport through the creation of a new hierarchical pattern of agglomerated opportunities. Based on these starting points, the core concept can be best explained as a logical sequence of steps:

- Creating a hierarchical system of opportunities requires differential thinking about space – a hierarchical system of relative accessibility is necessary. The project planning team of the Draft Muni-SDF adopted a three-tiered system since at the lowest level it defines an acceptable (although not perfect) walking distance within available public investment resources.
- In order to activate the system of access, the city, was quartered several times to create a three-tiered hierarchy of relative accessibility.
- In terms of public transportation-based movement systems, the most equitable systems are ones where people can switch direction, as well as modes of movement, quickly and easily. ‘Access to access’ are then provided and in the light of this, the centre points of these notional zones of access are now thought of as being transportation interchange points. In the case of Cape Town, various combinations of modes are accommodated (taxi, bus/taxi, taxi/train, taxi/bus/train).
- The notional of reference zones was then adjusted, while maintaining the original logic of relationships, to accommodate the realities of the existing movement system. In areas where more than one location had potential as the interchange, preference was consistently given to points of connection with the rail system rather than purely road-based systems.
- Interchange points generate large flows of people and therefore the interchange point is expanded to include a pleasant, landscaped public space, which always accommodates a hawker’s market. The concept generates a city-wide ‘people’s places’ and markets programme.
- The interchange points represent points of high accessibility. They are therefore ideal places for government in all spheres to reach the people with the support services they provide. Clusters of social services should be associated with the interchange points.
- The activities associated with these places also make them ideal places for retailing, commerce and manufacturing opportunities generated by the private sector. They are also ideal for high-density housing. The original interchange point is now translated into a ‘high activity’ urban centre, which is also a special place environmentally, and a focus of social activity.

As the city engages increasingly in urban renewal, the housing areas around these centres should become the focus of urban renewal programmes, thereby increasing the 'special place' quality of the area to the benefit of all (City of Cape Town, 1999: 21 – 24).

- **The role and characteristics of centres according to the Draft Muni-SDF**

A major imbalance in the current urban structure of Cape Town is a skewed distribution of agglomerated urban opportunities and public facilities, particularly in favour of the higher-income areas. This does have negative consequences: It results in a high level of inconvenience for many people, it generates excessive amounts of movement, it contributes to excessive traffic congestion and air pollution, and the poor spend more on travelling. It also causes problems in existing centres, which result in rising land prices, the exclusion of smaller economic activities, the increased specialisation of economic activities and the degradation of the environment. The critical problem is a loss of balance. A central thrust of the strategy for Cape Town advocated by the Draft Muni-SDF is to move towards the restoration of this balance through the creation of a hierarchical, interlinked, system of existing and new centres. Urban regeneration is thus not restricted to the existing, but also involves creating something new.

These centres can play a number of roles:

- They are special places, which provide a high-quality environment to which people can go to escape their daily environment.
- They are the primary places of meeting in the city where people socialise and where service providers meet the people.
- They are 'one stop' places where a wide range of services and amenities are accessible.

Although the centres will appropriately take on different characters; a different mix of activities, depending on market response and locational advantage; and will grow to different sizes, they should all reflect a number of common characteristics (City of Cape Town, 1999: 66 – 67):

- They must be highly accessible in terms of public transportation and all should have transportation interchange associated with them.
- They should reflect a high-quality spatial environment: the primary responsibility of buildings should be to 'bound' and define public space.

- They should be, and should remain, mixed. They should retain a substantial residential component, to increase levels of support for economic activity, to increase safety, and to increase night-time activity.
- They should accommodate both large and small enterprises; they should be fine-grained and scaled to the pedestrian.
- They should be intense and vibrant and allow for 18-hour day events.
- **Existing centres**

The Draft Muni-SDF (1999: 69) identifies existing centres as places to be managed as a critical component of the city's spatial structure, as sites of extensive historic investment, and as places with cultural, social and place-making value. The *Cape Town Central Business District* is identified as an existing centre at Level 1 in the hierarchy and *Claremont* as an existing centre at Level 2. Existing interchanges to be promoted as Level 3 centres include Salt River, Athlone, Mowbray, Nyanga, Wetton, Stock Road and Mitchell's Plain Town Centre. All of these centres have specific management issues associated with them and each requires a specific management plan.

There are, however, a number of generic problems associated with them:

- The residential component has been forced out. The phenomenon is particularly prevalent in Cape Town CBD and Claremont and needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. New buildings should be required to have a residential component and the Foreshore offers major scope for residential infill.
- The quality of the public spatial environment has been systematically eroded, particularly through inwardly orientated developments which offer blank facades to the street spaces and which create a 'fortress' look. Trading kiosks could be a alternative.
- The centres are under-utilised as places of delivering social services.
- Uncontrolled pavement hawking contributes to issues of crime and grime and undermines confidence. Well-located, formalised markets should be developed in each of the centres (City of Cape Town, 1999: 69).

5.2.5 Cape Town Central City Development Framework (Draft): A People's Place: 2001

According to The Cape Town Central City Development Framework draft policy document (2002: 4.1) the role of any area is based essentially on what it can offer, in terms of residential environment, sosio-cultural and economic activity, to local residents and the broader community of the city. **Figure 5.2** presents the Central Business District in context. The Central City is 369 ha of land with a resident population of approximately 2600 and about 880 residential units and business floor space of about 2 869 300 msq. Economic figures from the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC) see the central city generating 15% (R17.78 billion) of the province's economy, 20.7% of the economic turnover of the metropole, it is the location of 27.2% formal business, 27.2% of employment and R180 million in rates. It has the largest stock of historical built fabric and considerable areas of historical significance, a concentration of public facilities, cultural amenities, tourist accommodation and government offices which has proved to be extremely popular and profitable according to Grant & Scott (1996: 129).

According to The Cape Town Central City Development Framework draft policy document (2002: 4.1) the Central City in terms of what it offers, it's assets and its potential to contribute to urban integration should base future planning on securing the following five roles:

- **As the Historic, Symbolic and Substantive Heart of the City of Cape Town.** Capturing the heritage value of the extensive historic built fabric, places and spaces, the symbolic value of Table Mountain chain (an international icon), the seat of government and the substantive economic importance of the Central City. It has also been the venue for symbolic events (such as Mandela's first public appearance) that make it a focal point for Capetonians and visitors.
- **As the centre of National, Provincial and Local governance.** The location of the Unicity, the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) and Parliament in the Central City consolidate accessibility to governance structures and set the stage for ease of intergovernmental co-operation.
- **As a National and International Tourist, Academic and Business Destination.** The proximity of the Central City of six of the top national and international tourist destinations (Robben Island, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, Table Mountain, Cape Point and the Winelands) two of which are world heritage sites. The location of the new Cape Town International Conference Centre and its role in trade and academic event hosting. The Port's role in international trade and the accessibility of the Central City from the

metropolitan area, including the Cape Town International Airport make it well placed as a destination. Increasing and maintaining its role as a location for business opportunity.

- **As a Truly Mixed Use Urban Centre, A Site for National and Metropolitan Business, Education, Social, Recreation and Cultural facilities as well as local Residential Opportunities.** Targeting to maintain at least a 10% share in metropolitan job opportunities in the Central City, incorporating a managed informal sector. Contributing to urban integration by increasing the residential opportunities (bringing people closer to their work place). Increasing access to national/regional cultural facilities and exposing visitors to the quality of these institutions. Creating a basis for the marketing of Cape Town's competitive advantage in terms of trade (niche industries) investment location and tourism assets.
- **As an Accessible Central City, Leading the Creation of Economic and Living Opportunities.** As an established centre and the current head of the metropolitan movement systems the Central City has a responsibility of leadership in the creation of urban centre management and growth (creating economic, social and cultural opportunity) that is replicable in other centres. As one of four complimentary urban centres in the metropolitan area centres the Central City although having the role of primary centre should create precedent value and leadership within this broader urban system (City of Cape Town, 2002: 4.1).

Out of these Development Frameworks physical projects, aimed at urban regeneration in business areas, developed. The following section will assess one or two projects, aimed at urban regeneration in these specific business areas. The Waterfront regeneration projects and the Convention Centre are some of the projects developed within the city centre, as a result of these development frameworks, and will be discussed in the following section. The reason why the researcher chose these projects relates to the following:

- The Urban Renewal Programme gives insight into government's approach towards urban renewal in previously disadvantaged areas. These projects are aimed at addressing some of the urban challenges presented by the Apartheid City and make it worth investigating.
- The Victoria & Alfred Waterfront form an integrated part of the economic heart of the City of Cape Town. In terms of urban renewal and redevelopment, the Waterfront generates income, employment and tourist attractions. This relates strongly to redevelopment strategies followed in other parts of the world like America and Britain and even in South African cities like Durban. This makes it an case study worth investigating in terms of urban regeneration approach.

- The Convention Centre was clouded in controversy when the project started. This project is worth investigating to explore the more controversial side of urban renewal, the way in which public participation was ignored and gives room for a critique on this urban redevelopment approach.

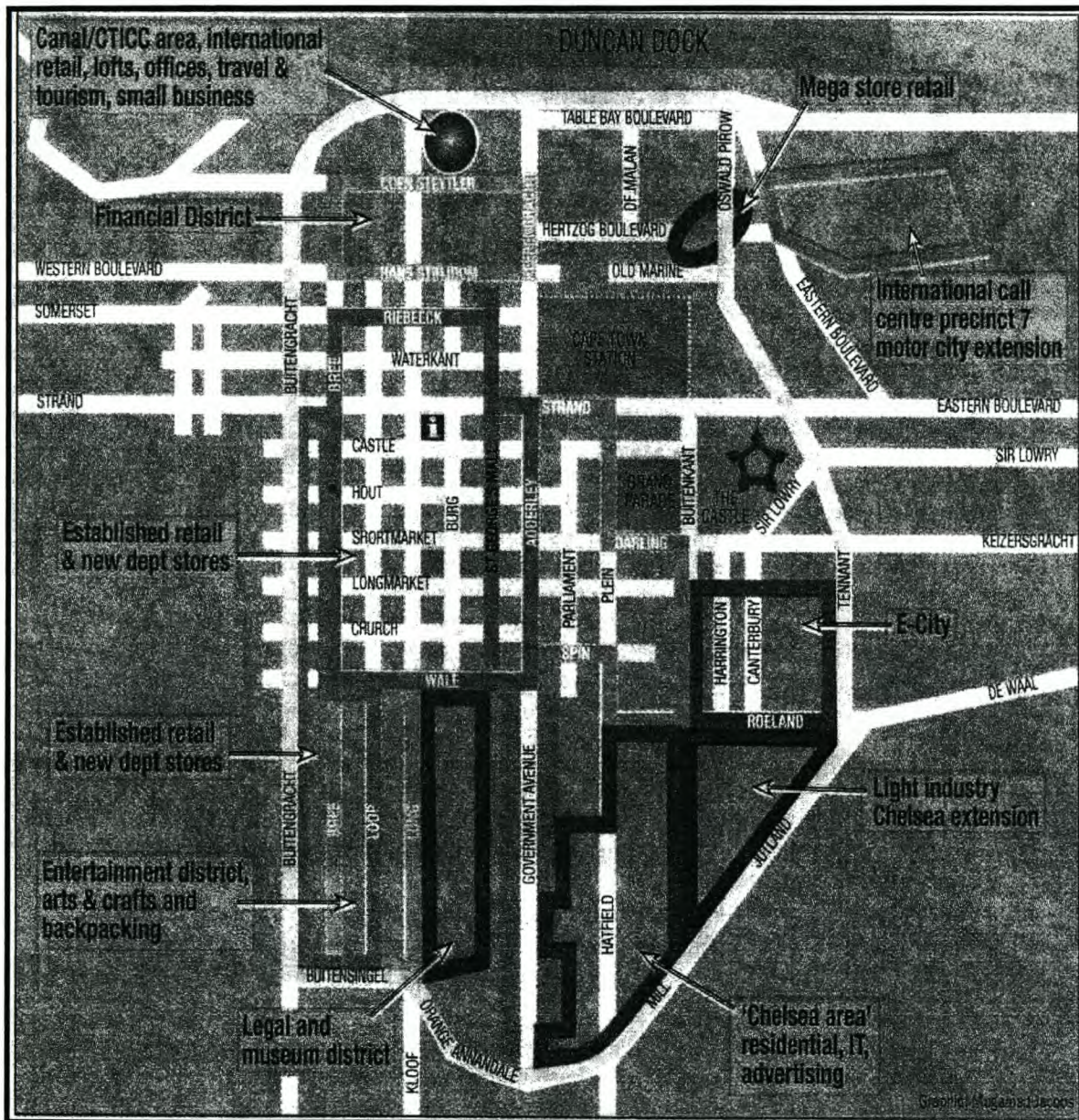


Figure 5.2 Cape Town Central Business District

Source: Van Zille, 2002: 4

5.2.6 The Urban Renewal Programme (2002)

- **Economic Development**

In February 2001 President Thabo Mbeki committed government “*to conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment, (and to bring) all the resources of all three spheres of government together*” in thirteen rural and eight urban nodes across the country. These nodes represent cumulatively areas where the incident of poverty and underdevelopment is greatest. This focused campaign against poverty and underdevelopment is gaining steady momentum. “*Gradually, step by step, we are progressing towards the achievement of the historic goal of the eradication of a centuries ‘old legacy of colonialism, racism and apartheid,*” (State of the Nation address, February 2002). Despite the challenges of re-demarcation and municipal elections, which were successfully undertaken across the country, nodal municipalities have completed their Interim Integrated Development Plans (IIDP), finalised their business plans, and work in most part has commenced on a hundred and thirty seven (137) rural anchor projects and a hundred and eight (108) urban anchor projects (RSA, 2002: 1).

Indeed significant strides have been made in mobilising and stabilising the local government sphere for the achievement of this national goal. The Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) is driving a proactive and pragmatic programme of action to implement a wide-range differentiated municipal capacity building and support initiative, which will provide an efficient institutional framework/basis in the struggle against poverty. As such, President Mbeki in his State of Nation address this year has reaffirmed governments commit to these rural and urban programmes. He pointed out that: “*As we push back the frontiers of poverty and underdevelopment, Integrated Rural Development and Urban Renewal Programmes assume critical importance*”. The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) entails co-ordination of investment in economic and social infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise development, the enhancement of the development capacity of local government, poverty alleviation and the strengthening of the criminal justice system. Identified anchor projects contribute towards urban and economical renewal, social renewal and law enforcement (RSA, 2002: 1 – 2).

- **Targeted Local/Urban Economies**

The aim of the programme, The Urban Renewal Programme, is to co-ordinate many complementary initiatives in a node and to co-ordinate action in a node with reference to a whole range of spheres and sectors. Co-ordination is done in a holistic approach through the steering structures of the three spheres. The programme is focusing on giving people access to houses, clean water and sanitation, electricity, health and recreation facilities, roads, affordable and efficient empowerment, integration, partnerships, identification of anchor projects and focusing on developmental local government.

The Urban Renewal Programme has a number of pillars for example:

- empowerment,
- integration,
- partnerships,
- identification of anchor projects and
- focusing on developmental local government.

- **Private Enterprise**

The role of the private sector in property development should not be ignored. Cities will continue to need new and refurbished stock, but the key task is to link property development investment to the real demands and needs of the developing local economy, and the cultural-environmental concerns of local citizens. The private sector must take the lead in development and the speculative private developer must be encouraged to provide land in the case/hope of future demand. As has been previously mentioned: the private developer's assessment of speculative risk is much better than that of the public sector. Attention must be focused on the entrepreneurial speculative dealmaker. The market should lead urban regeneration. It should however be mentioned that land and property market conditions vary significantly both between urban regions and within them. Therefore results may be produced in one place and period but the opposite in other times and places (RSA, 2002: 5 – 7).

- **Targeted Sites and Zones**

Whilst the Cabinet approved the Urban Renewal Strategy in October 2001, on national level eight urban renewal pilot areas were identified. In the Western Cape Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain were identified as nodal points. With the implementation of projects during December 2001/January 2002 the Urban Renewal Strategy became a programme. The national Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) is the national co-ordinator for this programme. The City of Cape Town, as local implementation agent, identified 36 anchor projects in the two nodes. The City of Cape Town has also appointed an Urban Renewal Programme Co-ordinator, who has drafted an interim institutional delivery framework to seek alignment between the three projects currently running in the nodes, namely the national Urban Renewal Programme, the German Programme (German Development Bank – *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau*) and the Cape Flats Renewal Project (Provincial Programme) (RSA, 2002: 4 – 5).

- **Projects**

The German Programme and Provincial Programme have different focus areas as well as specific aims within the Urban Renewal Programme-nodes. The German programme is focusing on the heavy end of renewal infrastructural projects, such as the provision of water, electricity, etc, whilst the Provincial Programme is focusing on the soft end of renewal infrastructural projects, such as graffiti removal, etc. The national Department of Provincial and Local Government identified 108 national urban renewal anchor projects in terms of the Interim Integrated Development Plans. Some of the projects meet urban renewal criteria and those that do not are referred to as flagship/priority projects. During 2001/2002, 36 projects were identified in the City of Cape Town (14 projects in Mitchell's Plain and 22 projects in Khayelitsha) (RSA, 2002: 4 – 5).

Table 5.1 shows the spread of projects per node and the associated costs are also indicated.

At the inception of the programme, nodal municipalities were requested to submit a list of anchor projects. These are supposed to be “key projects” which have a catalytic potential if funded. They are also supposed to be, in their nature, reflective of the principles that underpin the programme. Amongst others, they are supposed to have emerged from the Interim Integrated Development Planning (IIDP) process, should be inter and multi-sectoral, should be sustainable and seek to “do things differently”. An in-depth analysis of the projects was undertaken and the following emerged.

The 108 projects submitted were valued at R689.41 million. The split of the projects per sector is – 31% Infrastructure; 19% Housing; 11% Social Development; 9% Economic Development; 5.4% Sports and Recreation; 2% Tourism, and 22.6% other (e.g. environment, safety, investigations). Mainly municipalities fund the projects. Approximately eight of the 27 national departments (30%) co-funded the projects. This figure is disappointingly low especially if one considers the fact that this is not a departmental initiative or the sole responsibility of any one department but all departments and especially those that make up the social sector cluster (RSA, 2002: 6).

Table 5.1 Urban Renewal Anchor Projects

PROVINCE	NODE	TOTAL NUMBER OF PROJECTS	TOTAL VALUE
Western Cape	Mitchell's Plain	14	R138.3 m
	Khayelitsha	22	R79.17 m
Eastern Cape	Motherwell	15	R73.13 m
	Mdantsane	11	R128.28 m
Nothern Cape	Galeshewe	10	R26.8 m
KwaZulu - Natal	KwaMashu	3	R49.3 m
	Inanda	0	0
Gauteng	Alexandra	33	R194.43 m
TOTAL		108	R689.41 m

Source: RSA, 2002: 5

Nodal municipalities in terms of their Interim Integrated Development Plans (IIDP) have identified various urban renewal anchor projects and programmes – some of which are innovative and very necessary urban renewal initiatives (these projects are identified as *flagship/priority* projects). Other municipal projects might be less appropriate to urban renewal and less impressive. As such, it is not recommended that all the submitted anchor projects be funded. The less appropriate anchor projects do not comply with the urban renewal criteria developed by the urban renewal unit (in place at Department of Provincial and Local Government) and is consequently not supported. The department is actively engaging municipalities in an attempt to ensure that new projects are identified or the current projects re-packaged such that they will comply with the principles of the

Urban Renewal programme and are completed in terms of the local Integrated Development Plan process. The implementation of currently identified flagship/priority projects in the urban nodes is, however, an imperative and requires support and funding (RSA, 2002: 6).

Examples of key integrated sustainable rural development projects are:

- In **Alexandra**, approximately 8000 families have been relocated from the “infamous” banks of the Jukskei River and phase one of this Jukskei River greening project has been finalised. This project has already resulted in a significant decrease in the e-coli count in the river water and this significantly reduces the spread of water-borne disease. Furthermore, planning for the development of approximately 7000 residential units in the West Lake and Frankenwald areas will get under way in the second half of 2002.
- In **Khayelitsha**, an investment of R22 million has been made to developing a Magistrate’s court. Local contractors were used in the construction and the contractors employed local people. The building will be opened for operation in March 2002. This project represents our efforts to make justice accessible to these communities. Furthermore, R5 million has been invested in the first phase of the “Look-Out Hill Tourism Project”. The second phase will commence in March 2002. This will involve the construction of a Museum, Restaurant and an open air trading area.
- In **Mdantsane** R430 000 has been invested in the development and upgrading of playgrounds in the township and R6.8 million has been earmarked for the development of a local library and Arts Centre.
- In **KwaMashu**, R8 million is being invested in identifying land for the development of a Town centre and drivers for economic development. Other projects and programmes are running parallel and will cluster into the town centre initiative – such as the youth programmes, the safer cities project and the development of a Taxi rank (RSA, 2002: 8).

And still there are ongoing commitments, priorities and challenges:

- The ongoing refinement and identification of appropriate urban renewal and development projects must continue throughout the coming year and ahead.
- Funds for supported anchor projects will be secured through direct efforts of the DPLG.
- Workshops at the nodes with stakeholders across the three spheres of government must and will be undertaken.

Table 5.2 gives a provincial cost-breakdown of the flagship/priority projects received from nodal municipalities.

5.2.7 Planning, Resources and Funding

In terms of securing resources at the national Sphere for flagship/priority projects, various bilateral and multi-lateral meetings were held with the National Treasury (NT). The realignments of budgets were particularly followed up in terms of those national departmental conditional grants to local government. The meeting with each of these fund managers were held at the National Treasury in terms of each fund's compliance with the Division of Revenue Act (DoRA, 2001: 21), their status for implementation in 2002/03 and the extent of their reprioritisation of the Urban Renewal Programme nodes.

5.3 Urban Regeneration: The Waterfront Project

The Waterfront today is a concrete manifestation of a holistic vision on the part of individuals from a wide variety of professionals. The thread that drew them all together was the realisation that Cape Town 's harbour – the very reason for Cape Town's existence – and its valuable cultural, architectural and historic potential, would soon be lost to its citizens unless something was done. An excursion to the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town is usually undertaken with the intention of spending leisure time, and usually money, at one of the many attractions to be found there. The exclusive selection of shops, entertainment venues, markets and special events ensure that a wide spectrum of tastes and interests are catered for. The key word here seems to be variety. The multifunctional nature of the Waterfront development depends upon diverse land use – residential, business, industrial, tourism, retail, entertainment and education – for its success. And one fact to consider carefully is that it is precisely due to under-utilisation that the harbour area deteriorated in the first place. Historically, the harbour was the gateway to South Africa for a variety of people, goods and influences. Modernisation and improved technology saw the rapid industrial development of the harbour area, culminating in the 1970s with containerisation as the foremost method of cargo handling and transportation. This factor, coinciding with the reopening of the Suez Canal, trade embargoes due to South Africa's apartheid policy, and a poor national economy, meant that the harbour and surrounding land began to suffer the results of under-utilisation and rationalisation of harbour facilities (Murley, 1994(b): 16 – 17).

Table 5.2 Urban Renewal Programme Flagship Projects (mostly underway and funded – shortfalls are indicated)

NODE	PROJECT	VALUE	STATUS
Galeshewe	Cultural Village	R3.5 m	Awaiting funding approval
	Eradication of bucket system	R2.5 m (R1.5 m shortfall)	Underway
	Life skills development	R1.5 m (R1.4 m shortfall)	Underway
Khayelitsha	Magistrates Court	R22 m	Underway
	"Look - out Hill Tourism project"	R5 m	To commence
Mitchell's Plain	Mitchell's Plain Town Centre	R15.26 m (R760 000 Required in 2001/2002)	Concept plan under review
Alexandra	Jukskei Environmental Rehabilitation Plan	R3.1 m	Completion in 2002
	Establishment of Alex Transit Village	R9.5 m	Completion in 2002
Motherwell	Ramaphosa Sports field and tree planting	R480 000	In progress
	Motherwell Collector sewer	R550 000	Planning complete
KwaMashu	Investigations and Plans into the Development of a Town Centre	R8 m	In progress
TOTAL	12	R 71.09	

Source: Republic of South Africa, Urban Renewal Programme, Draft Document, 2002: 7

The lack of public access to the dock area, and the restrictive use to which Cape Town 's historic harbour was being put, led to a growing awareness amongst the citizens of Cape Town of the enormous potential that would be lost – potential that could be harnessed to the benefit of many sectors of society.

- **The redevelopment of the Waterfront**

In 1988 the harbour landowner, Transnet Limited, established the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Limited as a wholly owned subsidiary company to regenerate and preserve the historic docklands. The Company has a Board of Directors comprising of nine directors. Additionally, a team consisting of the Managing Director, Financial Director, a Development Manager, Estates Manager, Financial Manager and Public Relations and Marketing Manager is responsible for managing the redevelopment project, assessing development options and choosing consultants to facilitate the specific development objectives. A multi-disciplinary group of specialists, consultants and advisors assist the management team. This group consists of urban designers, planning co-ordinators, transport and geotechnical engineers, project managers, quantity surveyors, land surveyors, civil and marine engineers, landscape architects and architectural consultants. Incorporated within this broad range of development expertise are the skills of marketing and property agents, accountants, attorneys and legal advisors, and financial advisors. This comprehensive approach to the Waterfront development project has ensured that the conservation and regeneration of the dockland area has remained true to the vision, which inspired the project in the first place. Primarily, the vision entailed re-establishing the link between the harbour and the city. This link can be viewed on many levels: historic, environmental, cultural, economic, aesthetic and educational. In reconciling the city with its harbour on all these levels, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront Company and its team of consultants have created a dynamic model of integrated conservation, within which the concept of development is accommodated without contradicting the traditional notions of conservation (Murley, 1994b: 16 – 17).

- **Preservation and Development: The Graduate School of Business**

Most of the heritage conservation work done in the Waterfront relates to the rehabilitation and refurbishment of existing buildings for adaptive use. The original grain and fabric of the existing structures as well as the heights, roof pitches and architectural detail has been maintained, with infill development being the primary approach. A particularly interesting illustration of how

conservation and development have worked hand-in-hand at the Waterfront is the Graduate School of Business. Here we have a microscopic example of the sensitivity shown by the project developers for the historic, functional and aesthetic aspects of the Waterfront area. What is now the Graduate School of Business, with its imposing and somewhat austere façade, use to be the Breakwater Prison, which was constructed in 1901. The basis of all the development elements was authenticity. The physical preservation of the building bears testimony of the sensitive approach to the relation between aesthetics and function, to the need to develop appropriately for the future while retaining authentically the fabric of the past. Adaptation of the prison to a business school meant that the fortress-like exterior could be preserved and the existing structure adapted for its present use by working with rather than against the original design. To accommodate more lecture theatres and living quarters, a new “inner ring”, compatible in style and proportion with the original outer ring, was built. The courtyard is still the heart of the complex – and is landscaped in such a matter that it reflects the balance and symmetry of the surrounding structure. Two flanking buildings were constructed to accommodate visitors and conferences. The buildings are simple in design, continuing the visual theme of the main complex, yet allowing it to remain the focal point. The adaptation of the prison to the Graduate School of Business provides an historic link of a different nature (Murley, 1994a: 18).

- **Working Harbour and Educational Opportunities**

Unlike waterfront developments in other parts of the world, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront has retained its status as a working harbour. The continuing harbour activity, apart from its historical aspect and its authentication off the Waterfront area, provides an ongoing economic stimulus for the region. The integration of industry with entertainment, residential and business concerns further underscores the philosophy of integrated conservation that drives the development project. One example of an educational opportunity arising out of such a project is the BOC Oceanwatch, an educational programme linked to the BOC Challenge, a single-handed around-the-world yacht race. BOC Oceanwatch brings this year-long event into the classroom via a carefully co-ordinated educational package that includes a route chart poster, plotting sheets, fact sheets, material on the daily life of a sailor, nutrition, safety and survival, oceans and sea life, ports and people, navigation, weather/climate, and communications. As the yachtsman circle the world, encountering a vast array of climates, cultures and conditions, the BOC challenge becomes a global “real-time” floating classroom, encouraging participation and enthusiasm from students. Schools may obtain their BOC Oceanwatch package from the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront, and participate in a global learning

experience. The Victoria & Alfred Waterfront attempts at all times to balance the retail and entertainment aspects with the need for social responsibility. This is nowhere more evident than in the educational sphere. The Adventure Bus programme, where over one hundred children are brought to the Waterfront every Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, is a joint commitment on the part of the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront Company, Grassroots Educare Trust and Golden Arrow Bus Company to helping the youth realise their potential. The Adventure Bus Programme contains cross-cultural, informal and highly relevant activities, which are designed to stimulate growth, and initiate amongst the children, many of who are from disadvantaged communities. The programme also has a strong environmental slant, encouraging the children to extend what they learn at the Waterfront about litter, recycling and care for their surroundings to their home and school environments (Murley, 1994b: 21).

- **Conclusion**

Visitors to the Waterfront are thus participants in the regenerative process taking place at the harbour, where history and the present merge to form an inspiring context for business and leisure, for education and upliftment of the surrounding communities and tourists to the city. But apart from conservation, regeneration and education the Waterfront development project also generates employment and income. But tourism developments such as the Waterfront should not be developed or employed in isolation. These developments are not always a panacea for economic and environmental ills in urban areas and should be developed with a broader strategic renewal vision and focus that will generate spillover effects, especially to poorer areas.

5.4 The Convention Centre: Building of the 21st-century city

According to Johns and Lobel (2002: 6) more than 3000 employment opportunities will be created within the first year (2004) after completion of the Cape Town International Convention Centre. A furthermore 19 000 will be created by the year 2010. The Centre will formally open its doors on the 1st of August 2003 (Ferreira, 2001: 1). The centre will include a luxury hotel with 500 beds, 10000 m² showing room, 2 auditoriums with seating for 1500 and 620 respectively, a ball, dancing hall and more than 33 other rooms. The economic heartbeat of Cape Town's central business district is also shifting towards the Foreshore, according to Michael Farr, Chief Executive Officer of the Cape Town Partnership, an initiative of the City Council and Cape Town businesses. According to him: *"The Foreshore was until recently undeveloped so it offered the kind of opportunity that the*

older and more historic part of the city couldn't". He is rejecting the idea that the Central Business District is dying saying that some R500 million worth of development was under way in the city centre. In recent times Alan Le Roux of Gensec properties also stated that businesses are expected to come back in the city as the Foreshore saturated (Johns & Lobel, 2002: 6).

According to the managing director of the Cape Town Convention Centre, Dirk Ezlinga, and his staff had already signed up 15 international conventions for the centre's first six months, more than doubling the target of seven. According to him this development project of all over R504 million will have a huge impact on the economy of the Western Cape and even the rest of South Africa. Expectations for exhibition and trade fair bookings were also surpassed for the same period of the first six months, with a target of five jumping to 15 firm bookings. The largest event so far was for 2006 when some 6000 urologists would decent on the city for the 28th convention of the Society of International Urologists (Johns & Lobel, 2002: 6).

5.5 Other regeneration projects in Cape Town

These are not the only regeneration projects launched in Cape Town in recent times. It is impossible to elaborate in detail on every project, but this is just to show that in its physical form, urban regeneration compiles a lot of different development projects, accumulating in high amounts of costs. Some of the other regeneration projects taking place now is:

- **The Clocktower development in the Waterfront**

This is a development of three phases with a total value of R850 million. Phase 1 will include the new BOE headquarters, as well as the Nelson Mandela-route to Robben Island and the Clocktower. Phase 2 and 3 will include the development of the corridor that will connect the Waterfront with the centre of the city and the International Convention Centre (Louw, 2001: 2).

- **Restorations to Cape Town Station**

The project's total worth is about R1 milliard. It comprises a total area of 21 urban street blocks. The project will ensure easy access to and space for public transport, like busses and taxis. This project will connect with the urban transport system (Louw, 2001: 2).

Other private development projects that are currently underway or recently finished include:

- Investec's new regional headquarters in Hans Strijdom street worth R150 million.
- Nedcor's new regional headquarters in the Heerengracht worth R100 million.
- The Waterfront Marina development worth R1.3 milliard.
- The Mediterranean Shipping headquarters in Roggebaai worth R70 million.
- The Roggebaai-canal and tourism development worth R35 million.
- The restoration to Shell House in Waterkant street worth R17 million (Louw, 2001: 2).

Kent Robertson (1995: 429 – 437) in his study of downtown redevelopment strategies in the United States assessed that major downtown's and central business districts can use either one of the following redevelopment strategies namely, waterfront developments, office development or special activity corridors. When launching a study like this it is sometimes somewhat unconvincing to use one example as the example proving to have followed the right path with regards to urban regeneration according to the regeneration theory. With urban regeneration theory as the guide it is therefore important to evaluate the above mentioned projects against similar projects launched in other major cities in South Africa, in the case of this study Durban and Johannesburg. For the sake of the reader this will not be an in depth comparison in urban regeneration strategies followed by the different cities in their Central Business District's and other business nodes. But rather small comparisons will be made on the different urban regeneration strategies followed by the three cities to see if it corresponds to urban regeneration theory and the models for redevelopment. The study basically looks for more than one example, in this case more than one city. Thus in the following section a comparison will be made between the urban regeneration strategies of the three cities of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. Cape Town's strategy has already been discussed so the study will look at the cities of Durban and Johannesburg.

5.6 Urban regeneration and redevelopment in the City of Durban

Industrial development is no longer the primary growth sector in the economy of the province of KwaZulu-Natal according to the Republic of South Africa's Statistics in Brief (1994: 6). Rather, in the last five years, major capital investments have been made by both the private and public sectors in the local tourist and service sectors of the economy. Initiatives include the building of the new International Conference Centre, the upgrading of beachfront hotels, as well as the promotion of Durban as a sporting venue for aquatic sports, rugby and cricket (Grant & Scott, 1996: 130).

Robertson (1995: 433) in his study of downtown redevelopment strategies named convention centres under the special activity generator strategy. He also argued that convention centres should be close to large facilities, and is able to draw large numbers of people from outside the metropole. This is aimed at spillover benefits, stimulating new construction and revitalising blighted areas.

- **The Point Waterfront Development**

The Durban point is a curved spit of land bordered on the one side by the waters of southern Africa's busiest and biggest harbour and on the other side by the recreational beaches of Durban's Golden Mile. A significant portion of this land is distinguished by mixed land use, including vacant land and lies adjacent to dense urban settlement. There has been pressure from many sources, virtually since the 1960s to upgrade and develop the Point. Initially, the port authority set up the Point Development Company for the purposes of developing the 55 hectares of Point dockland area into a tourist orientated waterfront precinct. The concept of 'precincts' fits loosely into a planning discourse which insists on the need to make the city more compact, a more multi-faceted urban fabric through mixed land-use zoning, and micro and macro scale urban integration through such facilities as inter-nodal transport interchanges and public space networks. After lengthy negotiations the Point Development Protocol was signed in 1993 and this provided the set of commercial and social goals, which would guide the development (Propnet, 1993: 2).

The guiding principles and goals of the Protocol are worthy of commendation and encouragement. Furthermore, a pilot project of the Point Development Plan, *The famous Fish Factory* restaurant and *Thirsty's* bar built at the King's battery, a strategic location at the harbour mouth commanding superb views of harbour traffic, is proving to be most successful. The structure includes a maritime exhibition centre with military memorabilia reflective of the era when the Battery protected the harbour mouth during World War II. Highly visual and upmarket and postmodern in style, this project has expanded to include a weekly fleamarket in its precinct, which advertises as the *Point Waterfront Upmarket Fleamarket*. Although fleamarkets as a genre are 'unsigned', this fleamarket represents itself as an 'upmarket', secure shopping precinct. According to Grant & Scott (1996: 132) it is reported that fifteen thousand people pass through this market on weekend and public holidays. Philanthropic interests have led to the emergence of the *Bat Centre* (Bartel Arts Trust Centre) which is dedicated to the arts, and located in a reconstructed Portnet building on the quayside within the harbour precinct.

This development differs from other consumption sites in that its social and democratic goals provide a creative venue for local performers, artists and art-lovers – particularly those genres, performers and audiences that have been marginalised in the past. Further developments include the *Port Natal Maritime Museum*, Durban's two yacht clubs, the old boat-building Wilson's Wharf who hosts the boat repair shop, *Charlie Crofts*. It is in these niches along the Central Business District waterfront that entrepreneurs have found opportunities to incorporate the rich visual and physical attractions of the Bay, aestheticising a previously functional modernist waterfront which was inaccessible to the public (Grant & Scott, 1996: 134).

From the above it is clear that the Cities of Cape Town and Durban had a lot in common when it came down to the redevelopment of their waterfront areas. They also developed similar strategies for urban regeneration and launched the same kind of projects in their waterfront areas. And of course on big factor binding the two cities, on the area of urban redevelopment, is the fact that they both have harbours and waterfront areas, which became areas for concern about urban decay. The City of Johannesburg had to follow a somewhat different, mainly because of the lack of a waterfront (being inland situated) and opted for a more diverse urban redevelopment strategy. The following section will shortly analyse Johannesburg's approach to urban redevelopment and regeneration.

5.7 Urban regeneration and redevelopment in the City of Johannesburg

Johannesburg has traditionally been characterised as a wealthy African city, but according to Rogerson (1996: 139 – 58) their image problem started as far back as 1986 with the centennial celebrations. Subsequently, there have been numerous strategies to turn this image around. The Inner City Office in the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council is a dynamic team of project managers established in 1996 to deal with the deteriorating urban environment in South Africa's largest Central Business District. The Inner City Office had two points of departure. On the one hand it was intended as a site through which increasingly contradictory policies and programmes by four distinct political authorities could be reconciled. On the other, the Inner City Office was viewed as the obvious management tool to implement and monitor a newly formulated Inner City Development Strategy. In the mid 1997, substantial preliminary work in Johannesburg's Inner City Development Forum led to a Vision for the Inner City, and in turn a Renewal Strategy comprised of a set of programmes and projects either proposed or in the early stages of execution (Gotz & Wooldridge, 1999: 1).

The Inner City Office has quickly grown into a unit with responsibilities over a wide variety of large urban development and upgrading projects. The urban redevelopment portfolio is broken down into six categories namely: transportation facilities and taxi ranks, precinct upgrading projects, housing projects, social housing initiatives, economic development initiatives and social services (Gotz & Wooldridge, 1999: 1).

It is worth illustrating the range of projects undertaken with a few examples:

- **Jack Mincer Taxi Rank and Retail Facility**

This project involved the construction of an R18 million taxi rank and associated retail facilities to accommodate short-distance taxi's ranking on the streets in the area around Western Joubert Park. The physical rank development entailed the redesign and upgrading of an underground parking garage. The project saw an innovative approach being taken to involving previously warring taxi associations in the management of the rank, and to ensuring financial self-sufficiency of ongoing operations and maintenance. A rank Committee was established, made up of two representatives from each of six taxi associations, and responsible for (a) levying user fees on each taxi using the rank and (b) with the money from user fees and a lease agreement with a Shell Garage on the site, managing security, cleansing, repairs and capital replacement (Gotz & Wooldridge, 1999: 3 – 4).

- **The Markets Trading Company and Rockey Street Market**

In response to increasingly over-traded streets (and the consequent crime and grime image), the Inner City Office has initiated an ambitious trader management strategy. The strategy has a number of linked components, inter-alia the development and management of a select number of Trader Markets through a Market Trading Company wholly owned by Council, and the application of restricted trading zones across most of the inner city to force traders off the streets and into the markets. The programme has been extremely controversial, both in the press and amongst traders, not least because it sits awkwardly between trying to be a viable business enterprise in its own right and a social responsibility style service to vulnerable street vendors (Gotz & Wooldridge, 1999: 10). One industry that benefits really well from inner-city renewal and urban redevelopment are the arts and crafts industries according to Dirsuweit (1999: 189). The craft industry is well situated to provide a stable economic sector for women-based small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) in

Johannesburg. It not only serves foreigners but also many of Johannesburg's residents and South African tourists.

- **The Bad Buildings Programme**

Various factors have led to a large number of problem 'buildings' in the inner city, manifested most sharply in owners running up arrears in rates and service charges which approach or even exceeded the market value of their property. This has resulted in a negative trend towards existing owners liquidating companies, resulting in substantial financial loss for the council, and reluctance for potential new owners to purchase and invest in upgrading deteriorating building stock. The Bad Buildings Programme has sought to introduce an innovative mechanism to attract new investment for upgrading. It facilitates the writing down or discounting of debt owed to Council to the market value of the property, and its structuring over time to allow the purchaser to pay from the operating profits generated by refurbished buildings. This programme is still being sorted out and did reveal a number of problems that are still being sorted out (Gotz & Wooldridge, 1999: 10).

5.8 Conclusion

Perceptions of the central city of Cape Town, the Mother City's flagship, have changed radically, both nationally and internationally, especially over the last few years. Fuelled by increased security and cleansing services, combined with a good value proposition, the city is attracting growing numbers of tourists and new business, most notably in the leisure, finance and IT industries. Since the Cape Town Partnership was formed in 1999 to kick-start the rejuvenation of the Central Business District, it has focused primarily on working closely with local government in getting the basics right and building a platform from which Cape Town can market itself as a competitive global destination for new development. Cape Town is no longer at the beginning of the investment trend. She has the product, the environment, the determination and all the potential she needs to attract the kind of domestic and international investment necessary for Cape Town's growth.

But an evaluation of Cape Town's approaches to urban regeneration in its Central Business District and other business areas and potential nodes are necessary. The focus of this study is to evaluate the city's regeneration approach on the grounds of certain urban regeneration and redevelopment criteria. Success as well as failure will be highlighted because not every redevelopment project is a guaranteed success. An assessment of success and failure can help identify the future route of

urban regeneration and help avoid the mistakes made in the past. The finding of this study as well as a evaluation of the approach towards urban redevelopment can help guide the direction of urban regeneration and redevelopment.

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The City of Cape Town's approach to urban regeneration and redevelopment in the CBD and other business areas was discussed in Chapter 5. An investigation into the different development frameworks and the different urban regeneration projects, as well as limited comparisons with two other cities' approaches have give valuable insight into the urban regeneration approach of these different cities. For the analysis to have value, it is necessary to conduct a comparison and evaluation. This chapter presents an evaluation, based on urban regeneration evolution criteria (Roberts & Sykes, 2000: 14), with regards to urban regeneration in terms of the:

- major strategy and orientation and key actors and stakeholders,
- economic focus,
- social content,
- physical emphasis.

Similarities in urban redevelopment approach can help identify the different mechanisms, partnerships and institutions that could help other cities in South Africa to successfully redevelop blighted areas within their boundaries. This can be a very important contribution especially since aspects of the Apartheid City are still evident in our major cities. Through the right redevelopment and regeneration strategies some of the most devastating consequences of the Apartheid City can be strategically addressed, which could help create more integrated and connected urban areas.

6.2 MAJOR STRATEGY AND ORIENTATION AND KEY ACTORS AND STAKEHOLDERS

The urban management strategy of the Cape Town Municipality is focussed on addressing two main issues. These are i) the issue of directing growth and controlling development activity (a statutory responsibility of the local authority) and ii) the issue of managing place (a shared responsibility between the local authority, private sector landowners and the public). The urban management strategy focussed on the statutory control of development activity, the partnerships to effectively manage the public environment and the promotion of the Central City assets and other business

nodes and on investment/development opportunities in a proactive and sustainable way. The directing growth aspect of the strategy looks at pro-actively building a system of effectively and efficiently directing, controlling and promoting development activity towards enhancing the role and achieving the vision for the Central City and other development frameworks, like the MSDF, and Muni-SDF (City of Cape Town, 2002: 9.1).

From the broader perspective, in order to address the role of the Central City and other business areas in the Metropolitan area, stronger application of revised MSDF and integrated development plan principles for the metro area, to address unviable or destructive decentralisation and control growth proactively establishing the desired growth of identified centres, is essential. In order to effectively manage growth in the Central City, Cape Town Municipality also formed a dedicated planning unit to deal with both statutory processes and procedures and effectively linked the City and its partners in the Cape Town Partnership. Clear examples are the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront process as well as the establishment of the Cape Town International Conference Centre. The Cape Metropolitan Council and Cape Town Partnership now has a enormous amount of data on the Central City and other potential business nodes that could be made available to the planning unit in order to make better planning decisions and for the public (City of Cape Town, 2002: 9.1).

Roberts & Sykes (2002: 14) claim in their interpretation of the evolution of urban regeneration that one of the major strategies and orientation towards urban regeneration in the 1990s was the move towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice as well as more emphasis on integrated treatments. According to Naomi Carmon (1997: 131 – 144) some of the main activities or programmes in third generation regeneration included incumbent upgrading and urban flagship projects. She also stated that some of the main players in this process included private investors, local authorities and non-profit organisations.

But the policy and practice behind urban regeneration is now much more comprehensive. Urban regeneration and redevelopment in the South African context are also used to reconstruct the Apartheid City. Urban development frameworks like the Cape Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 1996) and the City of Cape Town Muni-SDF (City of Cape Town, 1999) are aimed at not only reconstructing the Apartheid City but placing emphasis on much more integrated treatments for urban decay. The Spatial Plan for the Wetton-Landsdowne Corridor (City of Cape Town, 1997) is an example of a much more integrated approach to urban regeneration and developing potential business nodes, connecting the vital infrastructural elements of the metropole.

The Urban Renewal Programme (2001/2) also shows local government's commitment to urban redevelopment in previously disadvantaged areas, which are now seen as potential business nodes and areas ideal for urban redevelopment projects. It is especially the urban redevelopment projects launched in previously disadvantaged areas like Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha that helps to create a more integrated urban environment and more connected city, helping to do away with Apartheid City concepts like marginalisation and separate development.

So, in terms of its major urban regeneration strategy and orientation the Municipality of Cape Town definitely moved towards a more comprehensive form of policy and practice including more sectors, stakeholders and potential areas for redevelopment. The current development frameworks for urban redevelopment place great emphasis on integration and infrastructure connection, eradicating marginalisation and separate development. The main players involved in the launching of regeneration projects are formed through partnerships like in the case of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, the Cape Metropolitan Council and the Cape Town Partnership, thus including public and the private sector. Currently this strategy do help make the Central City as well as other potential nodes and blighted areas, better and more liveable urban areas.

According to Carmon (1997: 137) the most salient public-private partnerships were those that may be classified as flagship projects. These are usually large-scale, prestigious, consumption-orientated urban renewal projects, involving mixed-use land and property development. Projects of this kind that were constructed in the centre of Cape Town included shopping malls, convention centres, atrium hotels, and restored adjoining historic neighbourhoods like i) the Clocktower development, ii) the restorations to Cape Town Station, iii) the Waterfront Marina development and iv) the Roggebaai-canal and tourism development. And as in many other cases, most of them had been successful in Cape Town: They have attracted business and tourists and have made important additions to the local tax base as well as to the prestige of the city itself. Public-private dealmaking has transformed the nature of the cities' development practice. But also at the same time it has raised troublesome issues of conflict of interests and accountability that participants tend to ignore as in the case of the Convention Centre project.

6.3 ECONOMIC FOCUS

When it comes to the economic focus of the urban regeneration/redevelopment activity, the 1990s introduced a greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding as well as an emphasis

on the role and upliftment of the community according to Roberts & Sykes (2000: 14). In the case of the City of Cape Town (the metropole) it meant linking urban renewal to concepts like local economic development. Formulating an effective metro wide urban renewal related economic development strategy required focusing on the following elements: investing in the fundamental assets and activities of the metropole that will help feed productivity and innovation. The Integrated Development Planning and Urban Renewal in Cape Town discussion document (Provincial Development Council, 2002: 94) include the following: transport and infrastructure; education and workforce development; research and technology; venture capital and other forms of business financing; services and amenities; economic development initiatives; business and employment attraction and retention; environmental preservation and restoration and community and family development.

One should however not ignore the impact of past decisions on the design of the economic component of an urban renewal strategy. The Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework proposed the development of the Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor as a new economic centre in the underdeveloped Metropolitan Spatial Environment linking it to the prosperous southern suburbs. The initial purpose was to rebalance the city and knit areas together by improving peoples' access to jobs, housing, shopping and other opportunities. The Corridor benefited from initial backing by the National Department of Transport as one of the seven national Spatial Development Initiatives. According to the discussion document on Integrated Development Planning and Urban Renewal in Cape Town (Provincial Development Council, 2002: 95) it lacked wider support from central and provincial government, and once the Transport Department's funds tailed off, the City's commitment also waned. It has come to be seen as the property of the City's Planning Department rather than a corporate effort, progress has slowed, several key staff has left and it currently lacks the resources and political support to achieve its intended effects. To date in 2002, the Corridor project has not been successful in attracting major private investment notwithstanding its identification as a 'priority area'.

However, the economic focus with regards to urban regeneration and redevelopment for the Central City differs from those launched within a wider context in the sense that it focus on an area that have certain historic, cultural or entertainment appeal and characteristics that makes attraction and redevelopment easier. For example the urban regeneration projects launched in the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront can purely be evaluated on the income it generated for the Cape Town Municipality as well as for private investors and in terms of the financial investments made over the

past few years. According to the Cape Town Central City Development Framework (Provincial Development Council, 2002: 11.1) currently the rates collected in the Central City are approximately R160 million. Analysis of the 2001/2002 Unicity draft capital budget saw a proposed reinvestment of R1.2 billion. Budgeted spending on the Central City was R42 million. This is approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rates collection. The redevelopment of the ICS Power Station Site at a cost of R24 million over six years has generated income from land sales of approximately R50 million. And the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront is now the largest single rate paying entity in the Unicity with a rates bill in the order of R20 million per annum.

Killian & Dodson (1995: 12 – 20) however argues that the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront itself is largely an ahistorical, post-modern planning package which displaces historical and contemporary realities. More problematic and sinister, the glamour and saturated imagery of the majority of waterfront developments primarily targets affluent consumers whose life-styles are based on sophisticated commodity aesthetics. Thus new urban forms such as waterfronts largely represent dominant or ruling-class styles. The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront is also accused of overlooking the histories of the oppressed and those discriminated against and of ignoring public accountability. In the South African context and in the interests of for example the Reconstruction and Development Programme such factors cannot be overlooked.

It is the opinion of the researcher that the City of Cape Town's economic focus with regards to urban regeneration and redevelopment certainly focused on a greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding in recent years. Stronger partnerships had been formed between the Cape Metropolitan Council, the Cape Town Central City Development Framework, and the Cape Town Partnership which has created financially viable redevelopment projects and generated considerable income for the city.

6.4 SOCIAL CONTENT

There can be no doubt that the social content of urban renewal strategies in the 1990s strongly emphasised the role of the community. The central characteristics of poverty can be described as the lack of household access to income and basic services and current urban renewal strategies with regards to social development tend to focus on both income and capability enhancement anti-poverty measures. Anti-poverty measures involve measures such as the provision of water and sanitation and basic health care, subsidised housing and education. However, it is important to

remember that social regeneration, which in this case mainly consists of training and business support facilities will often depend on continued public sector support in addition to revenue generated to remain viable. There also needs to be a wariness of long-term revenue difficulties (Provincial Development Council of the Western Cape, 2002: 100).

It is especially the development frameworks launched in recent years by the City of Cape Town, like the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (1996), the City of Cape Town Municipality's Muni-SDF Draft, (1999), the Urban Renewal Programme (2002) and the Integrated Development Planning and Urban Renewal in Cape Town document (2002) that has set the agenda for social regeneration. The Cape Town Muni-SDF (City of Cape Town, 1999: 54) for instance argues that social facilities provide an essential collective support system for the urban population. In an environment of resource constraints, a focus on the communal facilities and public places of urban life can reach the largest number of people and play a number of roles. They are containers of collective activity, providing places where people can interact around social, economic, cultural, spiritual, recreational, learning and political activities.

The Cape Town Muni-SDF (City of Cape Town, 1999: 54) also lay down some general principles for social regeneration:

- Exposure: Facilities should be 'exposed', in other words highly accessible.
- Innovation: Innovation is required in addressing new needs and the reality of resource constraints.
- Sharing: The sharing of facilities between user groups should be promoted as far as possible.
- Multi-functionality: All facilities should be as multi-functional as possible.

According to the Cape Town Muni-SDF (1999: 55) the components of social regeneration should also be expanded to provide for:

- Facilities for initiation.
- Support and promotion of small business (through the provision of information, training, manufacturing and trading facilities).
- Support for single-headed households, homeless people and street children (through emergency housing and shelters).

The Urban Renewal Programme (RSA, 2002), which lists the different anchor urban renewal projects launched in the Metropole over the period 1998 – 2002, reflects the principles and guidelines for social regeneration as laid out in for instance the Cape Town Muni-SDF. Eleven percent of the urban renewal projects launched in South Africa over the period 1999 – 2002 focus on social development. In the City of Cape Town two projects that were launched in Khayelitsha under the theme social development, are currently (2002) underway. They are:

- The electrification of informal dwellings according to which 18 000 informal families are electrified, the project are funded by ESKOM and 20 temporary and 8 permanent jobs were created. The first phase of the project were already finished by June 2000.
- The second project was the Mxolisi Phethani Clinic, which involved the development of a new clinic to the value of R14 million. The National Department of Health, the Provincial Department of Health and the City of Cape Town provided funds for the project. Eighty temporary jobs were created and completion was expected by March 2002.

It is clear that the City of Cape Town in recent social regeneration projects and accompanying development frameworks did focus on the role of the community in social regeneration.

6.5 PHYSICAL EMPHASIS

The physical emphasis of urban regeneration in the 1990s introduced a more modest approach than the 1980s, which focused on major schemes of redevelopment and the concept ‘flagship projects’, by focussing urban regeneration projects on especially themes like heritage and retention. And according to Roberts & Sykes (2000: 14) the environmental approach of urban regeneration brought the introduction of a broader idea of environmental sustainability.

Once again it is mainly the development frameworks that provide the guidelines for physical and environmental regeneration in the City of Cape Town. The Cape Town Central City Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 2002: 5.4) focus especially on history and its place in creating value and respect with regards to the city. The historic grid, fabric and public places of the Central City are assets. This programme focus on ensuring that build fabric remains and continues to create unique character, making public places safe and clean builds a positive image and attracts investment influencing locational decisions by investors. Over $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Central City is a conservation area, but the responsibility of owners is in the majority of cases either ignored or not informed.

According to the Cape Town Central City Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 2002: 5.4) mechanisms were launched to place micro business in older buildings suited to this activity and which allows a greater variety of activity in the Central City. The historic fabric is also in terms of character and size more suited to conversion to residential. The modernisation of interiors is a way of saving whole street frontages to preserve scale character and uniqueness. The Smart Buildings Fund and its accompanying Small Business Development fund initiated by the City and the Cape Town Partnership are a start to the process of providing finance to establish economic activity and at the same time address built fabric blight. However Cape Town does not internally promote its history enough. Letting people know through signage, storyboards, pamphlets and organised history walks allows for the user of the Central City to participate in the history of the place, and establish a new attraction as an activity to the Central City. The present lack of knowledge of the Central City accessible to the person on street and the current constraints on the Cities resources make it more difficult to make the Central City a place to be. The establishment of districts and permanent residents is part of the ongoing redevelopment strategy to hold onto the growing history of the area.

According to the Cape Town Central City Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 2002: 5.4) the symbolic value of places like Green Market Square and The Grande Parade need to be captured, celebrated and used actively in order to preserve and develop their history and symbolism, but also secure the means to achieve this by the places having an economic role in the Central City. The great achievement of the Heritage Trust and the Heritage square redevelopment serves as an good example, but needs also to be extended and used as a model for further work which puts the historic fabric on view and incorporates it in the working of the modern city.

6.6 CONCLUSION

A few factors however need consideration. It is true that the Waterfront generate a huge amount of rates and taxes. This presents a huge economic advantage in terms of revenue. It is the opinion of the researcher that this revenue can be used for cross subsidy in poorer areas or the redevelopment of poorer areas. It can even be used for the resettlement of people in places like the old District Six. This is not happening currently and a big percentage of the revenue generated by rates and taxes are reinvested in the Central Business District and Waterfront. The Central Business District and Waterfront are currently (2001/2002) one of the main focus areas for urban regeneration by the

Cape Town Municipality and it is not wrong to reinvest your earnings. But the point that is being made is that there should be a more strategic division of revenue.

Roberts (2002: 18) presents some of the basic urban regeneration principles. An important factor to consider is if Cape Town's renewal policy in some or other way adheres to these principles. The Cape Town Central City Development Framework (2002: 1-1 – 11-1) presents detailed analysis of the condition and development potential of the targeted area (the Central City and Waterfront). An overview of the approach and strategies of this framework presents a strong focus on sustainable development and the development of the natural environment and open space. This includes open recreational activities, a 'green' spatial framework and also includes the notion of spatial ecology. In the opinion of the researcher an investigation into the Urban Renewal Programme (2002: 1 – 35) presents clear project identification and implementation, nodes, projects, values and current status are very well presented in the document.

In the opinion of the researcher one of the big problems presented by renewal policy and frameworks is a lack of public participation. Carmon (1997: 135) referred to the two main elements of third generation renewal strategies; *public-individual partnerships* and *public-private partnerships*. In the opinion of the researcher the private sector plays a very important role in launching redevelopment projects. But their focus is basically entirely based on revenue (a pure economic focus) which presents some challenges. This is very evident in the Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor Programme located within the Metropolitan Spatial Environment. According to Turok (2001: 2349) the project currently (2002) lacks resources and political support to achieve the intended effects, and to date (2002), the Corridor projects has not been successful in attracting major private investment, notwithstanding its identification as a priority area. The point the researcher tries to make is that local authorities, with regards to urban renewal and resources needed for implementation, is between a rock and a hard place. The private sector has the financial resources but their own economic agenda. Their target areas are the affluent part of the population and business nodes associated with these people like the Waterfront. Their focus is revenue and their aims and strategies will not always take into account public participation, sustainable development or environmental friendliness. Some principles are sacrificed in the name of progress.

In the opinion of the researcher local authorities can aim and implement their renewal focus on the Central City, because it has been made possible by public-private partnerships (the Cape Metropolitan Council and the Cape Town Partnership). But the private sector is most definitely

leading the way or setting the agenda for redevelopment because of their financial strength. But in previously disadvantaged areas the local government is on it's own. Private developers and the private sector do not invest in these areas because of various reasons (a very poor population, high poverty rates, lack of employment, very high crime rates and no growth potential). As an example the Wetton-Landsdowne Phillipi Corridor proves this. But in the opinion of the researcher at least local government are tackling the problem in previously disadvantaged areas, especially the urban challenges presented by the Apartheid City, and it is not entirely been neglected like under the previous regime.

Roberts & Sykes (2000: 20) presents the essential inputs and outputs in the urban regeneration process accumulated from various regeneration strategies across the world. An investigation into the redevelopment frameworks by the Cape Town Municipality presents inputs on economic, social and environmental analysis as well as external drivers of change, application to an individual urban area and internal drivers of change. These inputs would include a analysis of the local economic structure (City of Cape Town, 2002: 1-1 – 11-1), a analysis of social stress like the need for community facilities (RSA, 2002: 1 – 35) as well as an environmental analysis (the Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996: 68) with a focus on urban physical quality and pollution. Outputs would include training and education/economic development through initiatives like local economic development (Provincial Development Council, 2002: 94), physical improvements like city-centre improvement, quality heritage and environmental action like stimulating green growth (City of Cape Town, 2002: 1-1 – 11-1). In the opinion of the researcher every one of these development frameworks and policy documents contain some of the elements presented in the urban regeneration process. The municipality of Cape Town's approach towards urban regeneration conforms, to some extend, to the urban regeneration process presented by Roberts & Sykes (2002: 20). But elements such as public participation, community action, especially in previously disadvantaged areas, and improved infrastructure are still being neglected.

Through the evaluation of the different aspect according to criteria it can be concluded that the urban regeneration approach followed by the City of Cape Town in the past decade (1992 – 2002) show many similarities between the city's approach and the evolution of urban regeneration theory and the redevelopment strategies followed in other countries during the 1990s and beyond. Although it is true that not every renewal project has shown the same degree of success and that there have been failures or cases of stagnation, the case studies present evidence of urban regeneration success on the grounds of the valued criteria set by Roberts & Sykes (2000: 20). The

City of Cape Town's approach towards urban regeneration in the 1990s and beyond is moving in the right direction according to the evaluation criteria used. The development frameworks that evolved since the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 1996) set the right tone for urban redevelopment.

The Cape Town Central City Development Framework (City of Cape Town, 2002) highlights the commitment from the Cape Town Municipality and the various partnerships it formed to treasure keep and develop the valuable cultural, historical environmental and economical assets of this wonderful city. But this commitment stretches beyond the inner-city and the Urban Renewal Programme (RSA, 2002) launched by Local Government is evidence of this. This programme targets the previously disadvantaged areas that have been marginalised by previous apartheid planning systems. The city is certainly shaping up for the future and the urban renewal projects launched at targeting blight certainly help create a much more vibrant and interconnected city. It is the opinion of the researcher that this study could help preserves the current direction urban regeneration is on and help avoid mistakes of the past.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

- Me Elmien Steyn, from the Urban Renewal Programme launched by the Department of Provincial and Local Government, Cape Town, May 2002.
- Mr Clive Saunders, Senior Planner, working with the Cape Town City Council and Cape Town Partnership, a meeting attended on Central City issues, March 2002.
- Me Jo-Ann Mandelstam, at the Spatial Planning Department of the Cape Town City Council, assisting and providing information on Central City issues.